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# INTERNATIONAL IDEALS

*Woodrow Wilson*

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VOLUME

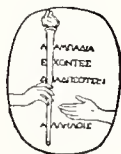


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# INTERNATIONAL IDEALS

*Speeches and Addresses  
made during the President's  
European Visit, December 14,  
1918, to February 14, 1919*

BY  
WOODROW WILSON  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES



Harper & Brothers Publishers  
New York and London

BOOKS BY  
WOODROW WILSON

INTERNATIONAL IDEALS  
GUARANTEES OF PEACE  
IN OUR FIRST YEAR OF WAR  
WHY WE ARE AT WAR  
A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE  
WHEN A MAN COMES TO HIMSELF  
ON BEING HUMAN  
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

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HARPER & BROTHERS, NEW YORK  
[ESTABLISHED 1817]



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## FOREWORD

*International Ideals* is the fourth volume in the series of the messages, speeches, and addresses of President Wilson, the preceding titles being: *Why We Are at War*, *In Our First Year of War*, and *Guarantees of Peace*.

The present collection contains the speeches and addresses delivered by Mr. Wilson in the course of his visit to France, England, and Italy, and before the Peace Conference in Paris. The unexampled circumstances that brought about the journey of the President to Europe, and the momentous issues discussed, lend a peculiar interest and value to this latest addition to the series. The League of Nations is naturally the most pregnant of the topics treated, but the Presidential utterances cover a wide range of subjects, as is evidenced by the table of contents. Among the more important titles are: "A Permanent Peace for the World," "A Great Moral Tide," "Peace by Agreement," "Unity of Command and of Spirit," "For World Alliance Only," "A Communion of Ideals," "The Duty of

## FOREWORD

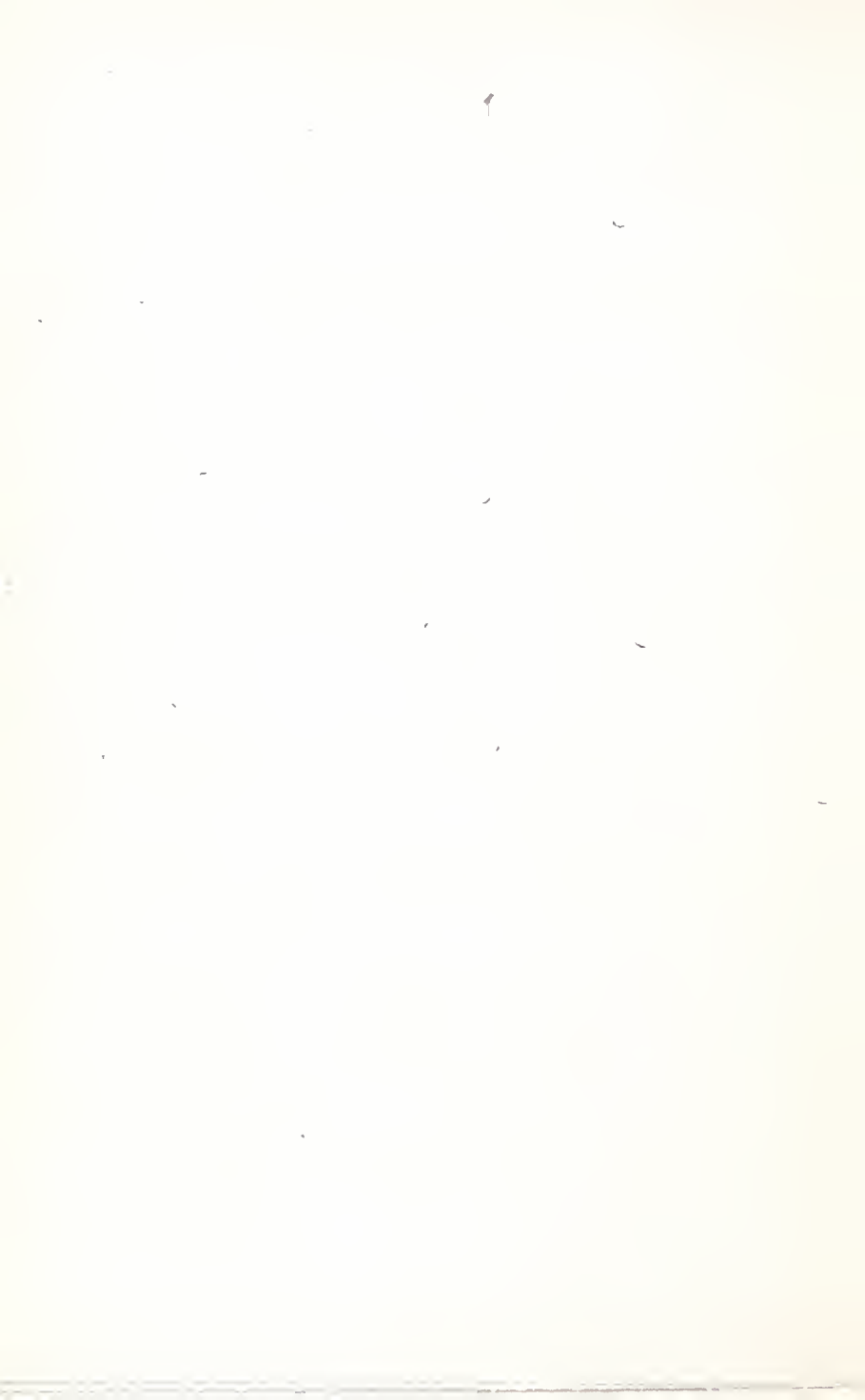
Continuing Peace," "Address Before the French Senate," "The Menace in the East."

Woodrow Wilson has his critics as well as his admirers, but American citizens of every political creed and party must feel a thrill of pride in the consciousness that the President of the United States has been, by common consent of the world, the leading figure in the distinguished conference of the Allied Powers assembled at Paris to decide the future destinies of mankind. It has been the singular good fortune of Woodrow Wilson that he has been called upon to voice the ideals and aspirations of right-thinking men among many nations and peoples. They are seeking to make the world a better place to live in, and through his clarity of vision and persuasive eloquence President Wilson has made their ideals visible, their aspirations articulate; he is their personal spokesman, and nobly has he risen to the great occasion. It is perhaps worthy of note that every word of these speeches and addresses was transmitted by wireless or oceanic cable to the American press, a unique distinction in itself. Under these conditions minor errors in transcription and transmission are perhaps unavoidable, and there has been no opportunity for the President to undertake any editorial revision of the subject-matter.



## FOREWORD

The public utterances of the President are the property of the nation, and it is at Mr. Wilson's own request that the customary author's royalties are paid by the publishers to the American Red Cross.



# INTERNATIONAL IDEALS

## I

### A PERMANENT PEACE FOR THE WORLD

(PARIS, December 14, 1918)

*In response to President Poincaré's address of welcome, at a luncheon given in President Wilson's honor, Mr. Wilson said:*

MR. PRESIDENT: I am deeply indebted to you for your gracious greeting. It is very delightful to find myself in France and to feel the quick contact of sympathy and unaffected friendship between the representatives of the United States and the representatives of France.

You have been very generous in what you were pleased to say about myself, but I feel that what I have said and what I have tried to do has been said and done only in an attempt to speak the thought of the people of the United States truly, and to carry that thought out in action.

## THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RIGHT AND JUSTICE

From the first, the thought of the people of the United States turned toward something more than the mere winning of this war. It turned to the establishment of eternal principles of right and justice. It realized that merely to win the war was not enough; that it must be won in such a way and the question raised by it settled in such a way as to insure the future peace of the world and lay the foundations for the freedom and happiness of its many peoples and nations.

Never before has war worn so terrible a visage or exhibited more grossly the debasing influence of illicit ambitions. I am sure that I shall look upon the ruin wrought by the armies of the Central Empires with the same repulsion and deep indignation that they stir in the hearts of the men of France and Belgium, and I appreciate, as you do, sir, the necessity of such action in the final settlement of the issues of the war as will not only rebuke such acts of terror and spoliation, but make men everywhere aware that they cannot be ventured upon without the certainty of just punishment.

## THE TRUE SPIRIT OF AMERICA

I know with what ardor and enthusiasm the soldiers and sailors of the United States have

given the best that was in them to this war of redemption. They have expressed the true spirit of America. They believe their ideals to be acceptable to free peoples everywhere, and are rejoiced to have played the part they have played in giving reality to those ideals in co-operation with the armies of the Allies. We are proud of the part they have played, and we are happy that they should have been associated with such comrades in a common cause.

It is with peculiar feeling, Mr. President, that I find myself in France joining with you in rejoicing over the victory that has been won. The ties that bind France and the United States are peculiarly close. I do not know in what other comradeship we could have fought with more zest or enthusiasm. It will daily be a matter of pleasure with me to be brought into consultation with the statesmen of France and her allies in concerting the measures by which we may secure permanence for these happy relations of friendship and co-operation, and secure for the world at large such safety and freedom in its life as can be secured only by the constant association and co-operation of friends.

I greet you not only with deep personal respect, but as the representative of the great people of France, and beg to bring you the greetings of another great people to whom

the fortunes of France are of profound and lasting interest.

I raise my glass to the health of the President of the French Republic and to Mme. Poincaré and the prosperity of France.



## II

### A SPEECH TO THE SOCIALISTS

(PARIS, December 16, 1918)

*Replying to the greeting of a Socialist delegation, the President said:*

GENTLEMEN: I received with great interest the address which you have just read to me. The war through which we have just passed has illustrated in a way which never can be forgotten the extraordinary wrongs which can be perpetrated by arbitrary and irresponsible power.

It is not possible to secure the happiness and prosperity of the world, to establish an enduring peace, unless the repetition of such wrongs is rendered impossible. This has indeed been a peoples' war. It has been waged against absolutism and militarism, and these enemies of liberty must from this time forth be shut out from the possibility of working their cruel will upon mankind.

#### INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION NECESSARY

In my judgment, it is not sufficient to establish this principle. It is necessary that it

should be supported by a co-operation of the nations which shall be based upon fixed and definite covenants, and which shall be made certain of effective action through the instrumentality of a League of Nations. I believe this to be the conviction of all thoughtful and liberal men.

I am confident that this is the thought of those who lead your own great nation, and I am looking forward with peculiar pleasure to co-operating with them in securing guarantees of a lasting peace of justice and right dealing which shall justify the sacrifices of this war and cause men to look back upon those sacrifices as the dramatic and final processes of their emancipation.

### III

#### THANKS FROM A FULL HEART

(PARIS, December 16, 1918)

*President Wilson received at the Hôtel de Ville the greetings of the Prefect of the Seine and of the President of the Municipal Council. In response he said:*

GENTLEMEN: Your greeting has raised many emotions within me. It is with no ordinary sympathy that the people of the United States, for whom I have the privilege of speaking, have viewed the sufferings of the people of France. Many of our own people have been themselves witnesses of those sufferings.

We were the more deeply moved by the wrongs of the war because we knew the manner in which they were perpetrated. I beg that you will not suppose that because a wide ocean separated us in space we were not in effect eye-witnesses of the shameful ruin that was wrought and the cruel and unnecessary sufferings that were brought upon you. These sufferings have filled our hearts with indigna-

tion. We know what they were, not only, but we know what they signified, and our hearts were touched to the quick by them, our imaginations filled with the whole picture of what France and Belgium in particular had experienced.

#### OUR HEARTS AND OUR RESOLUTION

When the United States entered the war, therefore, they entered it not only because they were moved by a conviction that the purposes of the Central Empires were wrong and must be resisted by men everywhere who loved liberty and the right, but also because the illicit ambitions which they were entertaining and attempting to realize had led to the practices which shocked our hearts as much as they offended our principles. Our resolution was formed because we knew how profoundly great principles of right were affected, but our hearts moved also with our resolution.

You have been exceedingly generous in what you have been gracious enough to say about me—generous far beyond my personal deserts, but you have interpreted with real insight the motives and resolution of the people of the United States. Whatever influence I exercise, whatever authority I speak with, I derive from them. I know what they have thought, I know what they have desired,

and when I have spoken what I know was in their minds it has been delightful to see how the consciences and purposes of freemen everywhere responded. We have merely established our right to the full fellowship of those peoples here and throughout the world who reverence the right of genuine liberty and justice.

#### A COMMUNITY OF THOUGHT AND IDEALS

You have made me feel very much at home here, not merely by the delightful warmth of your welcome, but also by the manner in which you have made me realize to the utmost the intimate community of thought and ideal which characterizes your people and the great nation which I have the honor for the time to represent.

Your welcome to Paris I shall always remember as one of the unique and inspiring experiences of my life, and, while I feel that you are honoring the people of the United States in my person, I shall nevertheless carry away with me a very keen personal gratification in looking back upon these memorable days.

Permit me to thank you from a full heart.

## IV

### AN ANCIENT FRIENDSHIP RENEWED

(CHAUMONT, FRANCE, December 25, 1918)

*In response to an address of welcome by the Mayor of Chaumont, on the occasion of the President's Christmas Day visit to the American troops in camp, Mr. Wilson spoke as follows:*

MR. MAYOR: I feel that I have been peculiarly honored in the generous reception you have given me, and it is the more delightful because it so obviously comes from the heart. And I cannot but believe that it is an instinctive response to the feeling that is in my own breast, because I think that even you, who feel contact with our soldiers, cannot but realize the depth and the sincerity of the feeling of the United States for France.

### A COMMUNION OF PRINCIPLES

It is an ancient friendship, but it has been renewed and has taken on a new youth. It is a friendship which is not only tentative, but one based upon a communion of principles.



You have spoken very generously and beautifully of the relations which have sprung up between yourselves and our soldiers. That is because they came not only to associate themselves with you as the champion of liberty, but they came with personal affection in their hearts for the people of France, and it must have been that which you realized. They did not come as strangers in their thoughts. They brought with them something that made them feel at home the moment they were at Havre or at Brest in France.

So I am very much moved by being thus drawn, as they have been, into your midst and into your conferences and wish to thank you very warmly for them and the people of the United States. I, like them, shall carry away with me the most delightful recollections and in my heart shall always say, as I now say: "*Vive la France!*"

## V

### WELCOME HOME TO OUR SOLDIERS

(HUMES, FRANCE, *December 25, 1918*)

*Following the review of American troops at Humes, the President said:*

GENERAL PERSHING AND FELLOW-COMRADES: I wish that I could give to each one of you the message that I know you are longing to receive from those at home who love you. I cannot do that, but I can tell you how every one has put his heart into it. So you have done your duty, and something more. You have done your duty, and you have done it with a spirit which gave it distinction and glory.

And now we are to hail the fruits of everything. You conquered, when you came over, what you came over for, and you have done what it was appointed for you to do. I know what you expected of me. Some time ago a gentleman from one of the countries with which we are associated was discussing with me the moral aspects of this war, and I said that if we did not insist upon the high pur-

pose which we have accomplished the end would not be justified.

### THE COUNTRY IS WAITING

Everybody at home is proud of you and has followed every movement of this great army with confidence and affection. The whole people of the United States are now waiting to welcome you home with an acclaim which probably has never greeted any other army, because our country is like this country—we have been so proud of the stand taken, of the purpose for which this war was entered by the United States.

You knew what we expected of you, and you did it. I know what you and the people at home expected of me, and I am happy to say, my fellow-countrymen, that I do not find in the hearts of the great leaders with whom it is my privilege now to co-operate any difference of principle or of fundamental purpose.

It happened that it was the privilege of America to present the chart for peace, and now the process of settlement has been rendered comparatively simple by the fact that all the nations concerned have accepted that chart, and the application of those principles laid down there will be their application. The world will know now that the nations that fought this war, as well as the soldiers who

represented them, are ready to make good—make good not only in the assertion of their own interests, but make good in the establishment of peace upon the permanent foundation of right and of justice.

Because this is not a war in which the soldiers of the free nations have obeyed masters. You have commanders, but you have no masters. Your very commanders represent you in representing the nation of which you constitute so distinguished a part. And everybody concerned in the settlement knows that it must be a people's peace and that nothing must be done in the settlement of the issues of the war which is not as handsome as the great achievements of the armies of the United States and the Allies.

#### A THRILL THROUGH EVERY HEART

It is difficult, very difficult, men, in any formal speech like this to show you my real heart. You men probably do not realize with what anxious attention and care we have followed every step you have advanced and how proud we are that every step was in advance, and not in retreat; that every time you set your face in any direction you kept your face in that direction. A thrill has gone through my heart, as it has gone through the hearts of every American, with almost every gun that

was fired and every stroke that was struck in the gallant fighting that you have done; and there has been only one regret in America, and that was the regret that every man there felt that he was not there in France, too.

It has been a hard thing to perform the tasks in the United States; it has been a hard thing to take part in directing what you did without coming over and helping you to do it. It has taken a lot of moral courage to stay at home. But we are proud to back you up everywhere that it was possible to back you up. And now I am happy to find what splendid names you have made for yourselves among the civilian population of France, as well as among your comrades in the armies of the French, and it is a fine testimony to you men that these people like you and love you and trust you, and the finest part of it all is that you deserve their trust.

I feel a comradeship with you to-day which is delightful. As I look down upon these undisturbed fields and think of the terrible scenes through which you have gone I realize how the quiet of peace, the tranquillity of settled hopes has descended upon us. And, while it is hard far away from home, confidently, to bid you a Merry Christmas, I can, I think, confidently, promise you a Happy New Year, and I can from the bottom of my heart say, God bless you!

## VI

### THE SORBONNE SPEECH

(PARIS, December 21, 1918)

*President Wilson, in acknowledging the honor bestowed upon him by the University of Paris in the form of a doctor's degree, said:*

MR. RECTOR: I feel very keenly the distinguished honor which has been conferred upon me by the great University of Paris, and it is very delightful to me also to have the honor of being inducted into the great company of scholars whose life and fame have made the history of the University of Paris a thing admirable among men of cultivation in all parts of the world.

### THE CHIEF OBJECT OF EDUCATION

By what you have said, sir, of the theory of education which has been followed in France and which I have tried to promote in the United States, I am tempted to venture upon a favorite theme. I have always thought that



the chief object of education was to awaken the spirit, and that, inasmuch as a literature whenever it has touched its great and higher notes was an expression of the spirit of mankind, the best induction into education was to feel the pulses of humanity which had beaten from age to age through the universities of men who had penetrated to the secrets of the human spirit.

And I agree with the intimation which has been conveyed to-day that the terrible war through which we have just passed has not been only a war between nations, but that it has been also a war between systems of culture—the one system the aggressive system, using science without conscience, stripping learning of its moral restraints, and using every faculty of the human mind to do wrong to the whole race; the other system reminiscent of the high traditions of men, reminiscent of all these struggles, some of them obscure, but others clearly revealed in history, the traditions of men of indomitable spirit everywhere struggling toward the right and seeking above all things else to be free.

The triumph of freedom in this war means that that spirit shall now dominate the world. There is a great wave of moral force moving through the world, and every man who opposes himself to that wave will go down in disgrace.

The task of those who are gathered here, or will presently be gathered here, to make the settlements of this peace is greatly simplified by the fact that they are the masters of no one; they are the servants of mankind. And if we do not heed the mandates of mankind we shall make ourselves the most conspicuous and deserved failures in the history of the world.

#### WHAT IS THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS?

My conception of the League of Nations is just this—that it shall operate as the organized moral force of men throughout the world, and that whenever or wherever wrong and aggression are planned or contemplated, this searching light of conscience will be turned upon them, and men everywhere will ask: “What are the purposes that you hold in your heart against the fortunes of the world?”

Just a little exposure will settle most questions. If the Central Powers had dared to discuss the purposes of this war for a single fortnight, it never would have happened; and if, as should be, they were forced to discuss it for a year, the war would have been inconceivable.

#### THE UNIVERSITY SPIRIT

So I feel that war is, as has been said more than once to-day, intimately related with the

university spirit. The university spirit is intolerant of all the things that put the human mind under restraint. It is intolerant of everything that seeks to retard the advancement of ideals, the acceptance of the truth, the purification of life; and every university man can ally himself with the forces of the present time with the feeling that now at last the spirit of truth, the spirit to which universities have devoted themselves, has prevailed and is triumphant.

If there is one point of pride that I venture to entertain, it is that it has been my private privilege in some measure to interpret the university spirit in the public life of a great nation, and I feel that in honoring me to-day in this unusual and conspicuous manner you have first of all honored the people whom I represent. The spirit that I try to express I know to be their spirit, and in proportion as I serve them I believe that I advance the cause of freedom.

I, as before, wish to thank you, sir, from the bottom of my heart for a distinction which has in a singular way crowned my academic career.

## VII

### A COMMON UNDERSTANDING

(DOVER, ENGLAND, *December 26, 1918*)

*Replying to the address of welcome from the Mayor of Dover, President Wilson said:*

MR. MAYOR: You have certainly extended to me and to those who are accompanying me a very cordial and gracious hand of welcome.

Even the sea was kind to us this morning and gave us a very pleasant passage, so that it tallied perfectly with our expectations of the pleasure we should have in landing in England.

We have gone through many serious times together, and therefore we can regard each other in a new light as comrades and associates, because nothing brings men together like a common understanding and a common purpose.

### THE WAR WAS WORTH WHILE

I think that, in spite of all the terrible suffering and sacrifice of this war, we shall some day, in looking back upon them, realize that

they were worth while, not only because of the security they gave the world against unjust aggression, but also because of the understanding they established between the great nations, which ought to act with each other in the permanent maintenance of justice and of right.

It is, therefore, with emotions of peculiar gratification that I find myself here. It affords me the opportunity to match my mind with the minds of those who, with a like intention, are purposing to do the best that can be done in the great settlements of the struggle.

I thank you very warmly, gentlemen, for your greeting, and I beg to extend to you in the name of my countrymen the most cordial greetings.

#### A WORD TO WOUNDED HEROES

*Speaking from the balcony of Buckingham Palace to the wounded veterans of the British army, President Wilson said:*

I want to tell you how much pleasure it gives me to see you men who suffered in the noble cause in which our nations were associated against tyranny. You don't know how honored I feel to see you here and to be able to express my appreciation of the honor you pay me in your dear country. I hope you may recover and live long to enjoy the fruits of the victory for which you fought.

## VIII

### A GREAT MORAL TIDE

(LONDON, December 27, 1918)

*At the state banquet in Buckingham Palace, President Wilson, replying to King George's speech of welcome, said:*

YOUR MAJESTY: I am deeply complimented by the gracious words which you have uttered. The welcome which you have given me and Mrs. Wilson has been so warm, so natural, so evidently from the heart, that we have been more than pleased. We have been touched by it, and I believe that I correctly interpret that welcome as embodying not only your own generous spirit toward us personally, but also as expressing for yourself and the great nation over which you preside that same feeling for my people, for the people of the United States.

### THE SPIRIT OF TWO GREAT NATIONS

For you and I, sir—temporarily—embody the spirit of two great nations, and whatever strength



I have and whatever authority I possess are mine only so long and so far as I express the spirit and purpose of the American people.

Every influence that the American people has over the affairs of the world is measured by their sympathy with the aspirations of freemen everywhere.

America does love freedom, and I believe that she loves freedom unselfishly. But if she does not she will not and cannot gain the influence to which she justly aspires.

I have had the privilege, sir, of conferring with the leaders of your own government and with the spokesmen of the governments of France and of Italy, and I am glad to say that I have the same conceptions that they have of the significance and scope of the duty on which we have met.

We have used great words, all of us have used the great words "Right" and "Justice," and now we are to prove whether or not we understand these words, and how they are to be applied to the particular settlements which must conclude this war. And we must not only understand them, but we must have the courage to act upon our understanding.

Yet, after I have uttered the word "Courage" it comes into my mind that it would take more courage to resist the great moral tide now running in the world than to yield to it, than to obey it.

## HEARTS IN UNISON

There is a great tide running in the hearts of men. The hearts of men have never beaten so singularly in unison before. Men have never been so conscious of their brotherhood. Men have never before realized how little difference there was between right and justice in one latitude and in another, under one sovereignty and under another.

And it will be our high privilege, I believe, sir, not only to apply the moral judgment of the world to the particular settlements which we shall attempt, but also to organize the moral force of the world to preserve those settlements, to steady the forces of mankind, and to make the right and the justice to which great nations like our own have devoted themselves the predominant and controlling force of the world.

There is something inspiring in knowing that this is the errand that we have come on. Nothing less than this would have justified me in leaving the important tasks which fall upon me upon the other side of the sea—nothing but the consciousness that nothing else compares with this in dignity and importance.

Therefore, it is the more delightful to find myself in the company of a body of men

united in ideal and purpose, and to feel that I am privileged to unite my thoughts with yours in carrying forward these standards which we are so proud to hold so high and to defend.

May I not, sir, with a feeling of profound sincerity and friendship and sympathy, propose your health and the health of the Queen and the prosperity of Great Britain?

## IX

### PEACE BY AGREEMENT

(LONDON, December 28, 1918)

*Replying to an address by the Lord Mayor, at the Guildhall, on behalf of the Corporation of the City of London, President Wilson spoke as follows:*

MR. LORD MAYOR: We have come upon times when ceremonies like this have a new significance, which most impresses me as I stand here. The address which I have just heard is most generously and graciously conceived, and the delightful accent of sincerity in it seems like a part of that voice of counsel which is now everywhere to be heard. I feel that a distinguished honor has been conferred upon me by this reception, and I beg to assure you, sir, and your associates of my very profound appreciation; but I know that I am only part of what I may call a great body of circumstances.

I do not believe that it was fancy on my part that I heard in the voice of welcome

uttered in the streets of this great city and in the streets of Paris something more than a personal welcome.

#### HEARD VOICES OF PEOPLE

It seemed to me that I heard the voice of one people speaking to another people, and it was a voice in which one could distinguish a singular combination of emotions. There was surely there the deep gratefulness that the fighting was over. There was the pride that the fighting had had such a culmination. There was that sort of gratitude that the nations engaged had produced such men as the soldiers of Great Britain and of the United States and of France and of Italy—men whose prowess and achievements they had witnessed with rising admiration as they moved from culmination to culmination.

But there was something more in it—the consciousness that the business is not yet done, the consciousness that it now rests upon others to see that those lives were not lost in vain.

I have not yet been to the actual battle-field, but I have been with many of the men who have fought the battles, and the other day I had the pleasure of being present at a session of the French Academy when they admitted Marshal Joffre to their membership.

## MUST PROTECT WEAK

That sturdy, serene soldier stood and uttered not the words of triumph, but the simple words of affection for his soldiers and the conviction which he summed up in a sentence which I will not try accurately to quote, but reproduce in its spirit. It was that France must always remember that the small and the weak could never live free in the world unless the strong and the great always put their power and their strength in the service of right.

That is the afterthought—the thought that something must be done now; not only to make the just settlements—that, of course—but to see that the settlements remained and were observed and that honor and justice prevail in the world. And as I have conversed with the soldiers I have been more and more aware that they fought for something that not all of them had defined, but which all of them recognized the moment you stated it to them. They fought to do away with an old order and to establish a new one, and the center and characteristic of the old order was that unstable thing which we used to call the “balance of power,” a thing in which the balance was determined by the sword which was thrown in on the one side or the other, a balance which was determined by the un-

stable equilibrium of competitive interests, a balance which was maintained by jealous watchfulness and an antagonism of interests which, though it was generally latent, was always deep-seated.

#### TRUST OF WORLD'S PEACE

The men who have fought in this war have been the men from the free nations who are determined that that sort of thing should end now and forever. It is very interesting to me to observe how from every quarter, from every sort of mind, from every concert of counsel, there comes the suggestion that there must now be not a balance of power, not one powerful group of nations set up against another, but a single overwhelming, powerful group of nations who shall be the trustees of the peace of the world.

It has been delightful in my conferences with the leaders of your government to find how our minds moved along exactly the same line and how our thought was always that the key to the peace was the guarantee of the peace, not the items of it; that the items would be worthless unless there stood back of them a permanent concert of power for their maintenance. That is the most reassuring thing that has ever happened in the world.

When this war began the thought of a league of nations was indulgently considered as the interesting thought of closeted students. It was thought of as one of those things that it was right to characterize by a name which, as a university man, I have always resented. It was said to be academic, as if that in itself were a condemnation—something that men could think about, but never get. Now we find the practical leading minds of the world determined to get it.

#### EAGER TO GET AT TASK

No such sudden and potent union of purpose has ever been witnessed in the world before. Do you wonder, therefore, gentlemen, that in common with those who represent you I am eager to get at the business and write the sentences down? And that I am particularly happy that the ground is cleared and the foundations laid—for we have already accepted the same body of principles. Those principles are clear and definitely enough stated to make their application a matter which should afford no fundamental difficulty.

And back of us is that imperative yearning of the world to have all disturbing questions quieted, to have all threats against peace silenced, to have just men everywhere come together for a common object. The peoples



of the world want peace and they want it now, not merely by conquest of arms, but by agreement of mind.

It was this incomparably great object that brought me overseas. It has never before been deemed excusable for a President of the United States to leave the territory of the United States, but I know that I have the support of the judgment of my colleagues in the government of the United States in saying that it was my paramount duty to turn away even from the imperative tasks at home to lend such counsel and aid as I could to this great, may I not say final, enterprise of humanity.

## X

### THE BREAKING OF PRECEDENTS

(LONDON, December 28, 1918)

*At the luncheon given by the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House, in honor of Mr. Wilson, the President said:*

MR. LORD MAYOR, YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS, YOUR GRACE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: You have again made me feel, sir, the very wonderful and generous welcome of this great city, and you have reminded me of what has perhaps become one of the habits of my life.

You have said that I have broken all precedents in coming across the ocean to join in the counsels of the Peace Conference, but I think those who have been associated with me in Washington will testify that that is nothing surprising. I said to the members of the press in Washington, one evening, that one of the things that had interested me most since I lived in Washington was that every time I did anything perfectly natural it was said to be unprecedented.

## AN ANECDOTE OF CHARLES LAMB

It was perfectly natural to break this precedent, natural because the demand for intimate conference took precedence over every other duty. And, after all, the breaking of precedents, though this may sound strange doctrine in England, is the most sensible thing to do. The harness of precedent is sometimes a very sad and harassing trammel. In this case the breaking of precedent is sensible for a reason that is very prettily illustrated in a remark attributed to Charles Lamb. One evening, in a company of his friends, they were discussing a person who was not present and Lamb said, in his hesitating manner: "I h-hate that fellow." "Why, Charles," one of his friends said, "I did not know that you knew him." "Oh," he said, "I-I-I d-don't. I can't h-hate a man I know."

And perhaps that simple and attractive remark may furnish a secret for cordial international relationship. When we know one another we cannot hate one another.

## SEEKING COMRADESHIP

I have been very much interested before coming here to see what sort of a person I was expected to be. So far as I can make out I was expected to be a perfectly bloodless,

thinking machine, whereas I am perfectly aware that I have in me all the insurgent elements of the human race. I am sometimes by reason of long Scottish tradition able to keep these instincts in restraint. The stern Covenanter tradition that is behind me sends many an echo down the years. It is not only diligently to pursue business, but also to seek this sort of comradeship that I feel it is a privilege to have come across the seas, and in the welcome that you have accorded Mrs. Wilson and me you have made us feel that that companionship was accessible to us in the most delightful and enjoyable form.

I thank you sincerely for this welcome, sir, and am very happy to join in a love feast which is all the more enjoyable because there is behind it a background of tragical suffering. Our spirits are released from the darkness of the clouds that at one time seemed to have settled upon the world in a way that could not be dispersed, the sufferings of your people, the sufferings of the people of France, and the infinite suffering of the people of Belgium. The whisper of grief that has been blown all through the world is now silent, and the sun of hope seems to spread its rays and to charge the earth with a new prospect of happiness. So our joy is all the more elevated because we know that our spirits are now lifted out of that valley.

## XI

### AN IRRESISTIBLE MORAL FORCE

(CARLISLE, ENGLAND, *December 29, 1918*)

*Speaking informally to the congregation of the Lowther Street Congregational Church, the President said:*

It is with unaffected reluctance that I inject myself into this service. I remember my grandfather very well, and, remembering him, I can see how he would not approve. I remember what he required of me and remember the stern lesson of duty he spoke. And I remember painfully about things he expected me to know and I did not know.

There has come a change of times when laymen like myself are permitted to speak in congregation. There is another reason why I was reluctant to speak.

The feelings excited in me to-day are really too intimate and too deep to permit of public expression. The memories that have come of the mother who was born here are very affecting. Her quiet character, her sense of

duty, and her dislike of ostentation have come back to me with increasing force as these years of duty have accumulated. Yet, perhaps it is appropriate that in a place of worship I should acknowledge my indebtedness to her and her remarkable father, because, after all, what the world now is seeking to do is to return to the paths of duty, to turn from the savagery of interests to the dignity of the performance of right.

#### DRAWING THE NATIONS TOGETHER

I believe as this war has drawn nations temporarily together in a combination of physical force, we shall now be drawn together in a combination of moral force that is irresistible. It is moral force as much as physical force that has defeated the effort to subdue the world. Words have cut as deep as swords.

The knowledge that wrong has been attempted has aroused the nations. They have gone out like men for a crusade. No other cause could have drawn so many of the nations together. They knew an outlaw was abroad and that the outlaw purposed unspeakable things.

It is from quiet places like this all over the world that the forces are accumulated that presently will overpower any attempt to accomplish evil on a great scale. It is like the

rivulet that gathers into the river and the river that goes to the sea. So there comes out of communities like these streams that fertilize the conscience of men, and it is the conscience of the world we now mean to place upon the throne which others tried to usurp.

## XII

### UNITY OF COMMAND AND OF SPIRIT

(MANCHESTER, ENGLAND, *December 30, 1918*)

*At the luncheon given by the Municipality of Manchester in honor of the President, Mr. Wilson spoke as follows:*

MR. MAYOR: You have again made me feel the cordiality of your friendship, and I want to tell you how much I appreciate it, not only on my own behalf, but on behalf of Mrs. Wilson.

It is very interesting that the Lord Mayor should have referred in his address to a very vital circumstance in our friendship. He referred to the fact that our men and your men have fought side by side in the great battles. But there was more than that in it. For the first time, upon such a scale, at any rate, they have fought under a common commander.

That is an advance which we have made upon the previous days, and what I have been particularly interested in has been the generosity of spirit with which that unity of command has been assented to. I not only had



the pleasure of meeting Marshal Foch, who confirmed my admiration of him by the direct and simple manner with which he dealt with every subject we talked about, but I had the pleasure of meeting your own commander, and I understand how they co-operated, because I saw that they were real men.

It takes a real man to subordinate himself, and it takes a real soldier to know that unity of command is the secret of success. That unity of command did swing the power of nations into a mighty force. I think we all must have felt how the momentum which got into all the armies was concentrated into the single army, and we felt we had overcome all the obstacles.

## UNITY OF SPIRIT

With our unity of command there arose a unity of spirit. The minute we consented to co-operate our hearts were drawn closer together into co-operation, and so from the military side we had given ourselves an example for the years to come. Not that in the years to come we must submit to a unity of command, but it does seem to me that in the years to come we must plan a unity of purpose, and that in that unity of purpose we shall find a great recompense, a strengthening of our spirit in everything that we do.

There is nothing so hampering and nothing

so demeaning as jealousy. It is a cancer. It is a cancer in the heart; not only that, but in the counting-room. It is a cancer throughout all the processes of civilization, and having now seen we can fight shoulder to shoulder, we will continue to advance shoulder to shoulder, and I think you will find that the people of the United States are not the least eager for the purpose.

#### RECALLS STORY OF A WARNING

I remember hearing the story of a warning that one of your Australian soldiers gave to one of ours. Our soldiers were considered by the older men to be a bit rash when they were in the field. I understand that one friendly Australian said that our men were rather rough. On one occasion an Australian said to one of our men: "Man, a barrage is not a thing to lean up against."

They were a little bit inclined to lean up against the barrage, and yet I must confide to you that I was a bit proud of them for it. They had come over to get at the enemy, and they didn't know why they should delay.

But now that there is no common enemy except distrust and marring of plans, we can all feel the same eagerness in the new combat and feel that there is a common enterprise before us.

We are not men because we have skill of hand, but we are men because we have elevation of spirit. It is in this spirit that we live and not in the task of the day. If it is not that, why is it that you hang the lad's musket or sword up above the mantelpiece, but never hang the yardstick up? There is nothing discreditable in the yardstick. It is altogether honorable, but he is using it for his own sake. But when he takes the musket or the sword he is giving everything and is getting nothing. It is honorable not as an instrument, but as a symbol of self-sacrifice.

A friend of mine said, very truly: "When peace is conducted in the spirit of war there will be no war." When business is done with the point of view of the soldier who is serving his country, then business will be as histrionic as war. I believe that from generation to generation steps of that sort are gaining more and more, and men are beginning to see, not, perhaps, the Golden Age, but an age which is conducting them from victory to victory and may lead us to an elevation from which we can see the things for which the heart of mankind has longed.

## XIII

FOR WORLD ALLIANCE ONLY

(MANCHESTER, ENGLAND, *December 30, 1918*)

*In his address, at the Free Trade Hall,  
President Wilson said:*

MY LORD MAYOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—perhaps I may be permitted to add—  
FELLOW CITIZENS: You have made me feel in a way that is deeply delightful the generous welcome which you have accorded me, and back of it I know there lies the same sort of feeling for the great people whom I have the privilege of representing.

There is a feeling of cordiality, fraternity, and friendship between the two great nations, and as I have gone from place to place and been made everywhere to feel the pulse of sympathy that is now beating between us I have been led to some very serious thoughts as to what the basis of it all is. For I think you will agree with me that friendship is not a mere sentiment.

## BASED ON COMMON SERVICE

Patriotism is not a mere sentiment. It is based upon a principle, upon the principle that leads a man to give more than he demands. Similarly, friendship is based not merely upon affection, but upon common service. The man is not your friend who is not willing to serve you, and you are not his friend unless you are willing to serve him. And out of that impulse of common interest and desire of common service arises that noble feeling which we consecrate as friendship.

And so it does seem to me that the theme that we must have in our minds now in this great day of settlement is the theme of common interest and the determination of what it is that is our common interest. You know that heretofore the world has been governed, or, at any rate, the attempt has been made to govern it, by partnerships of interest, and that they have broken down.

## ONLY ONE TIE FOR PEOPLES

Interest does not bind men together. Interest separates men. For, the moment there is the slightest departure from the nice adjustment of interests, then jealousies begin to spring up. There is only one thing that

can bind peoples together, and that is common devotion to right.

Ever since the history of liberty began men have talked about their rights, and it has taken several hundred years to make them perceive that the principal condition of right is duty, and unless a man performs his full duty he is entitled to no right. It is a fine correlation of the influence of duty that right is the equipoise and balance of society.

#### FOR PARTNERSHIP, NOT POLITICS

And so, when we analyze the present situation and the future that we now have to mold and control, it seems to me that there is no other thought than that that can guide us. You know that the United States has always felt from the very beginning of her history that she must keep herself separate from any kind of connection with European politics. I want to say very frankly to you that she is not now interested in European politics, but she is interested in the partnership of right between America and Europe. If the future had nothing for us but a new attempt to keep the world at a right poise by a balance of power the United States would take no interest, because she will join no combination of power which is not a combination of all of us. She is not interested

merely in the peace of Europe, but in the peace of the world.

#### VOICE OF HUMANITY ABROAD

Therefore it seems to me that in the settlement which is just ahead of us something more delicate and difficult than was ever attempted before has to be accomplished—a genuine concert of mind and of purpose. But while it is difficult there is an element present that makes it easy. Never before in the history of the world, I believe, has there been such a keen international consciousness as there is now.

There is a great voice of humanity abroad in the world just now which he who cannot hear is deaf. There is a great compulsion of the common conscience now in existence which, if any statesman resists, will gain for him the most unenviable eminence in history. We are not obeying the mandate of parties or of politics. We are obeying the mandate of humanity.

#### MUST PROVIDE FOR READJUSTMENT

That is the reason why it seems to me that the things that are most often in our minds are the least significant. I am not hopeful that the individual items of the settlement

which we are about to attempt will be altogether satisfactory. One has only to apply his mind to any one of the questions of boundary and of altered sovereignty and of racial aspirations to do something more than conjecture that there is no man and no body of men who know just how they ought to be settled; and yet if we are to make unsatisfactory settlements we must see to it that they are rendered more and more satisfactory by the subsequent adjustments which are made possible. We must provide the machinery for readjustments in order that we have the machinery of good-will and friendship.

#### EASY INTERCOURSE NECESSARY

Friendship must have a machinery. If I cannot correspond with you, if I cannot learn your minds, if I cannot co-operate with you, I cannot be your friend, and if the world is to remain a body of friends it must have the means of friendship, the means of constant friendly intercourse, the means for constant watchfulness over the common interests.

That makes it necessary to make some great effort to have with one another an easy and constant method of conference, so that troubles may be taken when they are little and not allowed to grow until they are big. I never thought I had a big difference with a man that



I did not find, when I came into conference with him, that, after all, it was rather a little difference; and that if we were frank with one another and did not too much stand upon that great enemy of mankind which is called pride, we could come together.

It is the wish to come together that is more than half of the process. It is a doctrine which ought to be easy of comprehension in a great commercial center like this. You cannot trade with a man who suspects you. You cannot establish commercial and industrial relations with those who do not trust you. Good-will is the forerunner of trade. Good-will is the foundation of trade, and trade is the great amicable instrument of the world on that account.

I felt, before I came here, at home in Manchester—because Manchester has so many characteristics of our great American cities. I was reminded of an anecdote of a humorous fellow-countryman of mine who was sitting at luncheon in his club one day when a man whom he did not like particularly came up and slapped him on the shoulder and said:

“Hello, Ollie! How are you?”

He looked at him coldly and said: “I don’t know your face and I don’t know your name, but your manners are very familiar.”

## COMMUNITY OF UNDERSTANDING

I don't know your name, but your manners are very familiar and very delightfully familiar, so that I felt that in the community of interest and understanding which is established in great currents of trade we are enabled to see international processes perhaps better than they can be seen by others. I take it I am not far from right in supposing that that is the reason why Manchester has been the center of the great forward-looking sentiments of men who had the instincts of large planning not merely for the city itself, but for the kingdom and the empire and the world. And with that outlook we can be sure we can go shoulder and shoulder together.

I wish it were possible for us to do something like some of my very stern ancestors did, for among my ancestors were those very determined persons who were known as the Covenanters. I wish we could, not for Great Britain and the United States, but for France, for Italy, and the world, enter into a great league and covenant declaring ourselves first of all friends of mankind and uniting ourselves together for the maintenance of the triumphs of right.

## XIV

### PEACE ON THE BASIS OF FRIENDSHIP

(ROME, *January 3, 1919*)

*In his speech in the Chamber of Deputies President Wilson said:*

YOUR MAJESTY AND MR. PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER: You are bestowing upon me an unprecedented honor, which I accept because I believe that it is extended to me as the representative of the great people for whom I speak. And I am going to take this first opportunity to say how entirely the heart of the American people has been with the great people of Italy.

We have seemed, no doubt, indifferent at times, to look from a great distance, but our hearts have never been far away. All sorts of ties have long bound the people of our America to the people of Italy, and when the people of the United States, knowing this people, have witnessed its sufferings, its sacrifices, its heroic actions upon the battle-field, and its heroic endurance at home—its steadfast endurance at home touching us more nearly to

the quick even than its heroic action on the battle-field—we have been bound by a new tie of profound admiration.

Then, back of it all, and through it all, running like the golden thread that wove it together, was our knowledge that the people of Italy had gone into this war for the same exalted principle of right and justice that moved our own people. And so I welcome this opportunity of conveying to you the heartfelt greetings of the people of the United States.

But we cannot stand in the shadow of this war without knowing there are things which are in some senses more difficult than those we have undertaken, because, while it is easy to speak of right and justice, it is sometimes difficult to work them out in practice, and there will be required a purity of motives and disinterestedness of object which the world has never witnessed before in the councils of nations.

#### ELEMENTS OF THE NEW SITUATION

It is for that reason that it seems to me you will forgive me if I lay some of the elements of the new situation before you for a moment. The distinguishing fact of this war is that great empires have gone to pieces. And the characteristics of those empires are that they

held different peoples reluctantly together under the coercion of force and the guidance of intrigue.

The great difficulty among such states as those of the Balkans has been that they were always accessible to secret influence; that they were always being penetrated by intrigue of some sort or another; that north of them lay disturbed populations which were held together not by sympathy and friendship, but by the coercive force of a military power.

Now the intrigue is checked, and the bonds are broken, and what we are going to provide is a new cement to hold the people together. They have not been accustomed to being independent. They must now be independent.

I am sure that you recognize the principle as I do—that it is not our privilege to say what sort of a government they should set up. But we are friends of those peoples, and it is our duty as their friends to see to it that some kind of protection is thrown around them—something supplied which will hold them together.

#### FRIENDSHIP AND GOOD-WILL

There is only one thing that holds nations together, if you exclude force, and that is friendship and good-will. The only thing that binds men together is friendship, and by the

same token the only thing that binds nations together is friendship. Therefore our task at Paris is to organize the friendship of the world—to see to it that all the moral forces that make for right and justice and liberty are united and are given a vital organization to which the peoples of the world will readily and gladly respond.

In other words, our task is no less colossal than this: to set up a new international psychology; to have a new real atmosphere. I am happy to say that in my dealings with the distinguished gentlemen who lead your nation, and those who lead France and England, I feel that atmosphere gathering, that desire to do justice, that desire to establish friendliness, that desire to make peace rest upon right; and with this common purpose no obstacles need be formidable.

The only use of an obstacle is to be overcome. All that an obstacle does with brave men is not to frighten them, but to challenge them. So that it ought to be our pride to overcome everything that stands in the way.

#### CANNOT BE ANOTHER BALANCE OF POWER

We know that there cannot be another balance of power. That has been tried and found wanting, for the best of all reasons that it does not stay balanced inside itself,

and a weight which does not hold together cannot constitute a makeweight in the affairs of men.

Therefore there must be something substituted for the balance of power, and I am happy to find everywhere in the air of these great nations the conception that that thing must be a thoroughly united league of nations.

What men once considered theoretical and idealistic turns out to be practical and necessary. We stand at the opening of a new age in which a new statesmanship will, I am confident, lift mankind to new levels of endeavor and achievement.

## XV

### A COMMUNION OF IDEALS

(ROME, January 3, 1919)

*In reply to the King's speech of welcome at the official dinner given at the Quirinal, President Wilson spoke as follows:*

YOUR MAJESTY: I have been very much touched by the generous terms of the address you have just read. I feel it would be difficult for me to make a worthy reply, and yet if I could speak simply the things that are in my heart I am sure they could constitute an adequate reply.

### A STRONG BOND OF SYMPATHY

I had occasion at the Parliament this afternoon to speak of the strong sympathy that had sprung up between the United States and Italy during the terrible years of the war, but perhaps here I can speak more intimately and say how sincerely the people of the United States had admired your own course and your



own constant association with the armies of Italy, and the gracious and generous and serving association of her Majesty the Queen.

It has been a matter of pride with us that so many Italians, so many men of Italian origin, were in our own armies and associated with their brethren in Italy itself in the great enterprise of freedom. These are no small matters, and they complete that process of the welding together of the sympathies of nations which has been going on so long between our peoples.

#### ITALIANS IN THE UNITED STATES

The Italians in the United States have excited a particular degree of admiration. They, I believe, are the only people of a given nationality who have been careful to organize themselves to see that their compatriots coming to America were from month to month and year to year guided to places in industries most suitable to their previous habits. No other nationality has taken such pains as that, and in serving their fellow-countrymen they have served the United States, because these people have found places where they would be most useful and would most immediately earn their own living and add to the prosperity of the country itself.

In every way we have been happy in our

association at home and abroad with the people of this great State. I was saying playfully to Premier Orlando and Baron Sonnino this afternoon that, in trying to put the people of the world under their proper sovereignties, we would not be willing to part with the Italians in the United States, because we too much value the contribution that they have made, not only to the industry of the United States, but to its thought and to many elements of its life.

#### A FEELING THAT GOES DEEP

This is, therefore, a very welcome occasion upon which to express a feeling that goes very deep. I was touched the other day to have an Italian, a very plain man, say to me that we had helped to feed Italy during the war, and it went to my heart, because we had been able to do so little. It was necessary for us to use our tonnage so exclusively for the handling of troops and of the supplies that had to follow them from the United States that we could not do half as much as it was our desire to do, to supply grain to this country or coal or any of the supplies which it so much needed during the progress of the war.

And knowing as we did in this indirect way the needs of the country, you will not wonder that we were moved by its stead-

fastness. My heart goes out to the poor families all over this great kingdom who stood the brunt and the strain of the war and gave their men gladly to make other men free and other women and other children free. These are the people, and many like them, to whom, after all, we owe the glory of this great achievement, and I want to join with you, for I am sure of joining with you, in expressing my profound sympathy not only, but my profound admiration as well.

It is my privilege and honor to propose the health of his Majesty the King and her Majesty the Queen, and long prosperity to Italy.

## XVI

### PARTNERSHIP IN LIBERTY

(ROME, January 4, 1919)

*Following the ceremony at the capitol, in which the citizenship of Rome was conferred upon the President, Mr. Wilson said:*

MR. MAYOR: You have done me a very great honor. Perhaps you can imagine what a feeling it is for a citizen of one of the newest of the great nations to be made a citizen of this ancient city. It is a distinction which I am sure you are conferring upon me as a representative of the great people for whom I speak. One who has been a student of history cannot accept an honor of this sort without having his memory run back to the extraordinary series of events which have centered in this place.

### MANY POLITICAL CHANGES

But as I have thought to-day, I have been impressed by the contrast between the temporary and permanent things. Many political changes have centered about Rome, from the

time when from a little city she grew to be mistress of a great empire. Change after change has swept away many things, altering the very form of her affairs, but the thing that has remained permanent has been the spirit of Rome and of the Italian people. That spirit seems to have caught with each age the characteristic purpose of the age.

This imperial people now gladly represents the freedom of nations. This people which at one time seemed to conceive the purpose of governing the world now takes part in the liberal enterprise of offering the world its own government. Can there be a finer or more impressive illustration of the indestructible human spirit and of the unconquerable spirit of liberty?

#### A COLOSSAL BLUNDER

I have been reflecting in these recent days about a colossal blunder which has been made—the blunder of force by the Central Empires. If Germany had waited a single generation, she would have had a commercial empire of the world. She was not willing to conquer by skill, by enterprise, by commercial success. She must needs attempt to conquer the world by arms, and the world will always acclaim the fact that it is impossible to conquer by arms; that the only thing that conquers it is the sort of service which can be rendered in

trade, in intercourse, in friendship, and that there is no conquering power which can suppress the freedom of the human spirit.

I have rejoiced personally in the partnership of the Italian and the American people, because it is a new partnership in an old enterprise, an enterprise predestined to succeed wherever it is undertaken—the enterprise which has always borne that handsome name which we call “liberty.” Men have pursued it sometimes like a mirage that seemed to elude them, that seemed to run before them as they advanced, but never have they flagged in their purpose to achieve it, and I believe I am not deceived in supposing that in this age of ours they are nearer to it than they ever were before. The light that shone upon the summit now seems to shine almost at our feet, and if we lose it, it will only be because we have lost faith. A breath of hope and of confidence has come into the hearts and minds of men.

I would not have felt at liberty to come away from America if I had not felt that the time had arrived when, forgetting local interests and local ties and local purposes, men should unite in this great enterprise that will ever tie free men together as a body of brethren and a body of free spirits.

I am honored, sir, to be taken into this ancient comradeship of the citizenship of Rome.

## XVII

### THE SPIRIT OF SCIENCE

(ROME, January 4, 1919)

*At the meeting of the Royal Academy of Science, President Wilson, in acknowledging the honor of membership conferred, spoke as follows:*

YOUR MAJESTY, MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ACADEMY: I have listened with the profoundest appreciation to the beautiful address which you have been kind enough to deliver, and I want to say how deeply I appreciate the honor you have conferred upon me in permitting me to become a member of this great academy, because there is a sense in which the continuity of human thought is in the care of bodies like this. There is a serenity, a long view, on the part of science, which seems to be of no age, but to carry human thought along from generation to generation freed from the elements of passion.

## HIGH AIM OF SCIENCE

Therefore it is, I dare say, with all men of science a matter of profound regret and shame that science should in a nation which has made science its boast have been put to such dishonorable uses in the recent war. Every just mind must condemn those who so debased the studies of men of science as to use them against humanity, and, therefore, it is part of your task and of ours to reclaim Science from this disgrace, to show that she is devoted to the advancement and interest of humanity, and not to its embarrassment and destruction.

I wish very much that I could believe that I was in some sense a worthy representative of the men of science of the United States. I cannot claim to be in any proper sense a man of science. My studies have been in the field of politics all my life, and, while politics may by courtesy be called a science, it is a science which is often practised without rule and is very hard to set up standards for so that one can be sure that one is steering the right course.

## MISSION OF THE ACADEMY

At the same time, while perhaps there is no science of government, there ought to be, I dare say, in government itself the spirit of science—that is to say, the spirit of disinter-



estedness, the spirit of seeking after the truth so far as the truth is ready to be applied to human circumstances. Because, after all, the problem of politics is to satisfy men in the arrangements of their lives, is to realize for them, so far as possible, the objects which they have entertained generation after generation and have seen so often postponed.

Therefore I have often thought that the universities and academies of science have their part in simplifying the problems of political affairs, and thus assisting to advance human life along the lines of political structure and political action.

It is very delightful to draw apart for a little while into this quiet place and feel again that familiar touch of thought and of knowledge which it has been my privilege to know familiarly through so great a part of my life. If I have come out on a more adventurous and disordered stage, I hope that I have not lost the recollection and may in some sense be assisted by councils such as yours.

## XVIII

### COLUMBUS AND FREEDOM

(GENOA, *January, 1919*)

*President Wilson, speaking at the railway station, said:*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: You make my heart very warm indeed by a welcome like this, and I know the significance of this sort of a welcome in Milan, because I know how the hearts of Italy and of the Italian people beat strong here. It is delightful to feel how our thoughts have turned toward you from not a new but an ancient friendship, because the American people have long felt the pulse of Italy beat with their pulse with desire for freedom.

#### THE LONG STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY

We have been students of your history. We know the vicissitudes and struggles through which you have passed. We know that no nation has more steadfastly held to a single course of freedom in its desires and

its efforts than have the people of Italy, and therefore I come to this place where the life of Italy seems to beat so strong, with a peculiar gratification.

I feel that I am privileged to come into contact with you, and I want you to know how the words I am uttering of sympathy and of friendship are not my own alone, but they are the words of the people whom I represent.

I was saying a little while ago at the monument of Columbus that he did a great thing, greater than was ever realized at the time it was done. He discovered a new continent not only, but he opened it to the children of freedom, and these children are now privileged to come back to their mother and to assist her in the high enterprise upon which her heart has always been set. It is therefore with the deepest gratification that I find myself here and thank you for your generous welcome.

## XIX

### THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CONCLUDING PEACE

(MILAN, January 6, 1919)

*At the reception given in Mr. Wilson's honor by the Municipality of Milan, the President replied as follows to the Mayor's address of welcome:*

MR. MAYOR: May I not say to you as the representative of this great city that it is impossible for me to put into words the impressions I have received to-day? The overwhelming welcome, the spontaneous welcome, so evidently coming from the heart, has been profoundly moving to me, sir, and I have not failed to see the significance of that welcome. You have yourself referred to it.

### LABOR INFLUENCES OPINION

I am as keenly aware, I believe, sir, as anybody can be that the social structure rests upon the great working-classes of the world

and that those working-classes in the several countries of the world have by their consciousness of community of interest, by their consciousness of community of spirit, done perhaps more than any other influence has to establish a world opinion which is not of a nation, which is not of a continent, but is the opinion, one might say, of mankind.

And I am aware, sir, that those of us now charged with the very great and serious responsibility of concluding peace must think, act, and confer in the presence of this opinion—that we are not masters of the fortunes of any nation, but are the servants of mankind; that it is not our privilege to follow special interests, but it is our manifest duty to study only the general interest.

This is a solemn thing, sir, and here in Milan, where I know so much of the pulse of international sympathy beats, I am glad to stand up and say that I believe that that pulse beats also in my own veins and that I am not thinking of a particular settlement.

#### MEMORIAL FROM SOLDIERS

I am very much touched to-day, sir, to receive at the hands of wounded soldiers a memorial in favor of a league of nations and to be told by them what it was that they had fought for—not merely to win this war, but to

secure something beyond, some guarantee of justice, some equilibrium for the world as a whole which would make it certain that they would never have to fight a war like this again.

This is an added obligation upon us who make peace. We cannot merely sign a treaty of peace and go home with a clear conscience. We must do something more. We must add, so far as we can, the security which suffering men everywhere demand.

And when I speak of suffering men I think also of suffering women. I know that, splendid as have been the achievements of your armies, and tremendous as have been the sacrifices which they have made and the great glory which they have achieved, the real hard pressure of the burden came upon the women at home whose men had gone to the front and who were willing to have them stay there until the battle was fought out. And I have heard from your Minister of Food the story how, for days together, there would be no bread. And when they knew that there was no bread the spirit of the people did not lag.

#### SALUTES PEOPLE OF ITALY

I take off my hat to the great people of Italy and tell them that my admiration is merged into friendship and affection. It is

in this spirit that I receive your courtesy, sir, and thank you from the bottom of my heart for this unprecedented reception, which I have received at the hands of your generous people.

## XX

### TO THE PEOPLE OF MILAN

(MILAN, *January 6, 1919*)

*To a large delegation which welcomed him at the Royal Palace President Wilson said:*

GENTLEMEN: I cannot tell you how much complimented I am by your coming in person to give me this greeting. I have never known such a greeting as the people of Milan have given me on the streets. It has brought tears to my eyes, because I know that it comes from their hearts.

I can see in their faces the same things that I feel toward them, and I know that it is an impulse of their friendship toward the nation I represent as well as a gracious welcome to myself. I want to re-echo the hope that we may all work together for a great peace as distinguished from a mean peace. May I suggest that this is a great deal in my thoughts.

### A WORLD OF SMALL NATIONS

The world is not going to consist now of great empires. It is going to consist for the



most part of small nations, apparently, and the only thing that can bind small nations together is the knowledge that each wants to treat the other fairly. That is the only thing. The world has already shown that its progress is industrial. You cannot trade with people whom you do not trust and who do not trust you.

Confidence is the basis of everything that we must do, and it is a delightful feeling that these ideals are sustained by the people of Italy and by a wonderful body of people such as you have in the great city of Milan. It is with a sense of added encouragement and strength that I return to Paris to take part in the council that will determine the items of peace. I thank you with all my heart.

#### A UNION OF ALL PARTIES

*President Wilson spoke to the committee on entertainment as follows:*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Again you have been very gracious and again you have filled my heart with gratitude because of your reference to my country, which is so dear to me. I have been very much interested to be told, sir, that you are the chairman of the committee on entertainment, which includes all parties without distinction, and I am glad to interpret that

to mean that there is no division recognized in the friendship which you have for America, and I am sure, sir, that I can assure you that in America there would be a similar union of all parties to express friendship and sympathy with Italy, because, after all, parties are founded upon differences of program and not often upon differences of national sympathy.

The thing that makes parties workable and tolerable is that all parties love their own country and therefore participate in the general sentiments of that country; and so it is with us, sir. We have many parties, but we have a single sentiment in this war and a single sentiment in the peace, and in that sentiment lies our feeling toward those with whom we have been associated in the great struggle.

At first the struggle seemed to be a spirit of autocracy, the spirit of force; but as the consciousness of the nation grew it became more and more apparent that in the aggression of the Central Empires was the spirit of militarism, the spirit of autocracy, the spirit of force; and against that spirit there arose, as always in the past, the spirit of liberty and justice.

#### SPIRIT OF LIBERTY UNCONQUERABLE

Force can always be conquered, but the spirit of liberty can never be, and the beauti-

ful circumstance about the history of liberty is that its champions have always shown the power of self-sacrifice. They have always been willing to subordinate their personal interests to the common good, and have not wished to dominate their fellow-men, but have wished to serve them.

This is what gives imperishable victory, and with that victory has come about things that are exemplified in scenes like this—the coming together of the hearts of nations and the sympathy of great bodies of people who do not speak the same vocabulary, but speak the same ideals. I am heartened by this delightful experience and hope that you will accept not only many thanks for myself and for those who are with me, but thanks on behalf of the American people.

#### THE HEART OF AMERICA

*From the balcony of La Scala the President spoke briefly as follows:*

I wish I could take you all to some place where a similar body of my fellow-countrymen could show their heart toward you as you have shown me your heart toward them, because the heart of America has gone out to the heart of Italy. We have been watchful of your heroic struggle and of your heroic

suffering, and it has been our joy in these recent days to be associated with you in the victory which has liberated Italy and liberated the world. *Viva Italy!*

#### A MESSAGE OF SYMPATHY

*The President later spoke to the league of mothers and widows, saying:*

I am very much touched by this evidence of your confidence, and I would like to express to you if I could the very deep sympathy I have for those who have suffered irreparable losses in Italy.

Our hearts have been touched. And you have used the right word. Your men have come with the spirit of the crusaders against that which was wrong and in order to see to it, if it was possible, that such terrible things never would happen again. I am very grateful to you for your kindness.

## XXI

### THE DUTY OF CONTINUING PEACE

(TURIN, January 6, 1919)

*In responding to an address by the Mayor of Turin, at a luncheon in his honor, President Wilson said:*

YOUR EXCELLENCY AND FELLOW CITIZENS:  
You show your welcome in many delightful ways and in no more delightful way than in which you have shown it to-day. The words which the Mayor has uttered have touched me very much, and I have been both touched and stimulated by the words which the Signor has so kindly uttered in behalf of the government of this great kingdom.

It is very delightful to feel my association with that government and with this city, and I know how much and with what vitality Italian effort comes out of this great center of industry and thought. As I passed through your streets I had this sensation, a sensation which I have often had in my own dear country at home, a sensation of friendship and of close

sympathetic contact. I could have believed myself in an American city. I felt more than that. I felt what I have also felt at home—that the real blood of the republic flowed in the streets in the veins of these plain people who, more than some of the rest of us, have borne the stress and burden of war.

### THE CONQUEST OF SPIRIT

Think of the price at which you and at which I have purchased the victory which we have won. Think of the price of blood and treasure not only, but the price of tears and the price of hunger on the part of little children, of the hopes delayed or the dismayed prospects that bore heavy upon the homes. Those of us who plan battles and those of us who conceive political movements do not bear the burden of it. We direct and the others execute. We plan and the others perform, and the conquest of spirit is greater than the conquest of arms.

These are the people that never let go. They say nothing. They live merely from day to day, determined that the glory of Italy or that the glory of the United States shall not depart from her.

I have been thinking as I passed through your streets and stood here that this was the place of the labors of the great Cavour, and

I thought how impossible would have been many of the things which have happened in Italy since his day, and how impossible the great achievements of Italy in the last three years would have been without the work of Cavour. Ever since I was a boy one of my favorite portraits has been a portrait of Cavour, because I have read of him and of the way in which his mind took in the nations and of the national scope of his strong, determined, and patriotic endeavor that never allowed obstacles to dismay and always stood at the side of the king and planned the great things which the king was enabled to accomplish.

And I had another thought. This is a great industrial city. Perhaps you gentlemen think of the members of your government and the members of other governments who are going to confer in the city of Paris as the real makers of war and peace, but we are not. You are the makers of war and of peace. The pulse of the modern world beats on the farms and in the mines and in the factories.

#### PEACE AND COMMERCE UNITED

The plans of the modern world are made in the counting-house. The men that do the business of the world now shape the destinies of the world, and peace or war is now in a

large measure in the hands of those who conduct the commerce of the world. That is one reason why, unless we establish friendships, unless we establish sympathies, we clog all the processes of modern life. I have several times said that you cannot trade with a man who does not trust you, and you will not trade with a man whom you do not trust. Trust is the very vital life and breath of business, and suspicion and unjust national rivalries stand in the way of trade and stand in the way of industry.

A country is owned and dominated by the capital that is invested in it. I do not need to instruct you gentlemen in that fundamental idea. In proportion as foreign capital comes in among you and takes its hold, in that proportion does foreign influence come in and take its hold, and, therefore, the processes of capital are in an actual sense the processes of conquest.

I have only this suggestion before we go to Paris to conclude a peace. You stay here to continue it. We can start the peace, but it is your duty to continue it. We can only make the large conclusions. You constantly transact the details which constitute the processes or the life of a nation.

And so it is very delightful to me to stand in this company and feel that we are not foreigners to each other. We think the same



thoughts, we entertain the same purposes, we have the same ideals, and this war has done this inestimable service—it has brought the nations into close and vital contact, so that they feel the pulses that are in each other and so that they know the purposes by which each is animated.

#### NEW YORK A GREAT ITALIAN CITY

We know in America a great deal about Italy because we have so many Italians. Fellow Citizens, when Baron Sonnino (the Italian Foreign Minister) was arguing the other day for the extension of the sovereignty of Italy over the Italian populations, I said to him that I was sorry we could not let you have New York, which, I understand, is the greatest Italian city in the world. I am told that there are more Italians in New York City than in any city in Italy, and I am proud to be President of a nation which contains so large an element of the Italian race, because as a student of literature I know the genius that has originated in this great nation, the genius of thought and of poetry and philosophy and of music. I am happy to be a part of the nation which is enriched and made better by the introduction of such elements of genius and of inspiration.

May I not again thank the representatives of this great city and the representatives of the government for the welcome they have given me and say again, for I cannot say it too often, *Viva Italia!*

## XXII

TO THE PEOPLE OF TURIN

(TURIN, January 6, 1919)

*From the balcony of the Philharmonic Hall  
President Wilson spoke as follows:*

It is very delightful to feel your friendship given so cordially and so graciously, and I hope with all my heart that in the peace that is now about to be concluded Italy may find her happiness and her prosperity. I am sure that I am only speaking the sentiments that come from the heart of the American people when I say *Viva Italia!*

### AMID FAMILIAR SCENES

*At the University of Turin the President said:*

MR. RECTOR, GENTLEMEN OF THE FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is with a feeling of being in very familiar scenes that I come here to-day. As soon as I entered the quadrangle and heard the voices

of the students it seemed to me as if the greater part of my life had come back to me, and I am particularly honored that this distinguished university should have received me among its sons. It will always be a matter of pride with me to remember this association and the very generous words in which these honors have been conferred upon me.

When I think seriously of the significance of a ceremony like this some very interesting reflections come to my mind, because, after all, the comradeship of letters, the intercommunications of thought are among the permanent things of the world.

#### THOUGHT A CONNECTING LINK

There was a time when scholars, speaking in the beautiful language in which the last address was made, were the only international characters of the world; the time was when there was only one international community, the community of scholars. As ability to read and write was extended international intercommunication has extended. But one permanent common possession has remained and that is the validity of sound thinking. When men have thought along the lines of philosophy, have had revealed to them the visions of poetry, have worked out in their studies the permanent lines of law, have real-

ized the great impulses of humanity, they then begin to advance the human web which no power can permanently tear and destroy.

And so, in being taken into the comradeship of this university I feel that I am being taken into one of these things which will always bind the nations together. After all, when we are seeking peace, we are seeking nothing else than this, that men shall think the same thoughts, govern their conduct by the same impulse, entertain the same purposes, love their own people, but also love humanity, and above all else, love that great and indestructible thing which we call justice and right.

These things are greater than we are. These are our real masters, for they dominate our spirits, and the universities will have forgotten their duty when they cease to weave this immortal web. It is one of the chief griefs of this great war that the universities of the Central Empires used the thoughts of science to destroy mankind.

#### MUST REDEEM SCIENCE

It is the duty of the great universities of Italy and the rest of the world to redeem science from this disgrace, to show that the pulse of humanity also beats in the classroom, that the pulse of humanity also beats in

the laboratory, and that there are sought out not the secrets of death, but the secrets of life.

#### AMERICA AND ITALY

*In accepting the freedom of the city of Turin, at a meeting in the municipal building, President Wilson said:*

MR. MAYOR: Both on the streets of this interesting city and here you have made me feel at home. I feel almost as if it were the greeting of a people of whom I was indeed a fellow citizen. I am very much honored that this great city, playing so important a rôle in the life and in the industrial endeavor of Italy, should have conferred this high distinction upon me, and I take the liberty of interpreting your action, sir, not merely as a personal compliment to myself, to whom you ascribe virtues and powers which I feel I do not possess, but as a tribute to the people whom I represent.

#### FOR WORLD'S FREEDOM

The people of the United States were reluctant to take part in the war, not because they doubted the justice of the cause, but because it was the tradition of the American Republic to play no part in the politics of

other continents. But as the struggle grew from stage to stage they were more and more moved by the conviction that it was not a European struggle, that it was a struggle of the freedom of the world and the liberation of humanity, and with that conviction it was impossible that they should withhold their hands.

Their hearts have been with you from the start, and then when the time of their conviction came they threw every resource of men and money and enthusiasm into the struggle. It has been a happy circumstance that America should thus be associated with Italy. Our ties had been many and intimate before the war, and now they constitute a pledge of friendship and of a permanent association of purpose which must delight both peoples.

May I not, therefore, again thank you for the honor you have conferred upon me and take the privilege of greeting you affectionately as my fellow citizens.

VIVA ITALIA!

*President Wilson's address on the balcony of the municipal building follows:*

MY FRIENDS OF TURIN: I now have the privilege of addressing you as my fellow

citizens. It is impossible at this distance that my voice should reach all of you, but I want you to know that I bring the affectionate greeting of the United States to the people of Italy and the great city of Turin. My sentiment, coming from the heart, is the sentiment of our people, *Viva Italia!*



## XXIII

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

(PARIS, January 7, 1919)

*The following proclamation on the death of Theodore Roosevelt was cabled from Paris by President Wilson:*

### A PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES:

It becomes my sad duty to announce officially the death of Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States from September 14, 1901, to March 4, 1909, which occurred at his home at Sagamore Hill, Oyster Bay, New York, at 4.15 o'clock in the morning of January 5, 1919. In his death the United States has lost one of its most distinguished and patriotic citizens, who had endeared himself to the people by his strenuous devotion to their interests and to the public interests of his country.

As president of the police board of his native city, as member of the Legislature and Governor of his State, as Civil Service Commissioner,

as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, as Vice-President, and as President of the United States, he displayed administrative powers of a signal order and conducted the affairs of these various offices with a concentration of effort and a watchful care which permitted no divergence from the line of duty he had definitely set for himself.

In the war with Spain he displayed singular initiative and energy and distinguished himself among the commanders of the army in the field. As President he awoke the nation to the dangers of private control which lurked in our financial and industrial systems. It was by thus arresting the attention and stimulating the purpose of the country that he opened the way for subsequent necessary and beneficent reforms.

His private life was characterized by a simplicity, a virtue, and an affection worthy of all admiration and emulation by the people of America.

In testimony of the respect in which his memory is held by the government and people of the United States, I do hereby direct that the flags of the White House and the several departmental buildings be displayed at half-staff for a period of thirty days, and that suitable military and naval honors under orders of the Secretaries of War and of the Navy be rendered on the day of the funeral.

Done this seventh day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nineteen and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-third.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

FRANK L. POLK, *Acting Secretary of State.*

## XXIV

### NOMINATING CLEMENCEAU FOR CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN

(PARIS, January 18, 1919)

*President Wilson, in nominating Premier Clemenceau for chairman of the Conference, said:*

MR. CHAIRMAN: It gives me great pleasure to propose as permanent chairman of the Conference Mr. Clemenceau, the president of the council.

I would do this as a matter of custom. I would do this as a tribute to the French Republic. But I wish to do it as something more than that; I wish to do it as a tribute to the man.

### FRANCE DESERVING OF PRECEDENCE

France deserves the precedence not only because we are meeting at her capital and because she has undergone some of the most tragical suffering of the war, but also because her capital, her ancient and beautiful capital,

has so often been the center of conferences of this sort, on which the fortunes of large parts of the world turned.

It is a very delightful thought that the history of the world, which has so often centered here, will now be crowned by the achievements of the Conference—because there is a sense in which this is the supreme Conference of the history of mankind.

More nations are represented here than were ever represented in such a Conference before. The fortunes of all peoples are involved. A great war is ended, which seemed about to bring a universal cataclysm. The danger is passed. A victory has been won for mankind, and it is delightful that we should be able to record these great results in this place.

#### A STEADFAST LEADER

But it is more delightful to honor France because we can honor her in the person of so distinguished a servant. We have all felt in our participation in the struggles of this war the fine steadfastness which characterized the leadership of the French in the hands of Mr. Clemenceau. We have learned to admire him, and those of us who have been associated with him have acquired a genuine affection for him.

Moreover, those of us who have been in these recent days in constant consultation with him know how warmly his purpose is set toward the goal of achievement to which all our faces are turned. He feels, as we feel, as I have no doubt everybody in this room feels, that we are trusted to do a great thing, to do it in the highest spirit of friendship and accommodation and to do it as promptly as possible in order that the hearts of men may have fear lifted from them and that they may return to those purposes of life which will bring them happiness and contentment and prosperity.

Knowing his brotherhood of heart in these great matters, it affords me a personal pleasure to propose that M. Clemenceau shall be the permanent chairman of this Conference.

## XXV

### ADDRESS BEFORE THE FRENCH SENATE

(PARIS, *January 20, 1919*)

*Addressing the Senate of France, President Wilson said:*

MR. PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE, MR. PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: You have made me feel your welcome in words as generous as they are delightful, and I feel that you have graciously called me your friend. May I not in turn call this company a company of my friends, for everything that you have so finely said, sir, has been corroborated in every circumstance of our visit to this country. Everywhere we have been welcomed, not only, but welcomed in the spirit and with the same thought, until it has seemed as if the spirits of the two countries came together in an unusual and beautiful accord.

### THE LONG PERIOD OF PERIL

We know the long period of peril through which France has gone. France thought us

remote in comprehension and sympathy, and I dare say there were times when we did not comprehend as you comprehended the danger in the presence of which the world stood. There was no time when we did not know how near it was, and I fully understand, sir, that throughout these trying years, when mankind has waited for the catastrophe, the anxiety of France must have been the deepest and most constant of all, for she did stand at the frontier of freedom. She had carved out her own fortunes through a long period of eager struggle. She had done great things in building up a great, new France. And just across the border, separated from her only by a few fortifications and a little country whose neutrality, it has turned out, the enemy did not respect, lay the shadow cast by the cloud which enveloped Germany, the cloud of intrigue, the cloud of dark purpose, the cloud of sinister design. The shadow lay at the very borders of France.

And yet, it is fine to remember here that for France this was not only a peril, but a challenge. France did not tremble. France quietly and in her own way prepared her sons for the struggle that was coming. She never took the initiative nor did a single thing that was aggressive. She had prepared herself for defense, not in order to impose her will upon other people. She had prepared herself that



no other people might impose its will upon her.

As I stand with you and as I mix with the delightful people of this country I see in this their thoughts: "America always was our friend. Now she understands. Now she comprehends, and now she has come to bring us this message; and that, understanding, she will always be ready to help." And while, as you say, sir, this danger may prove to be a continuing danger, while it is true that France will always be nearest this threat if we cannot turn it from a threat into a promise, there are many elements that ought to reassure France.

#### A NEW AWAKENED WORLD

There is a new awakened world. It is not ahead of us, but around us. It knows that its dearest interests are involved in its standing together for a common purpose. It knows that the peril of France, if it continues, will be the peril of the world. It knows that not only France must organize against this peril, but that the world must organize against it.

So I see in these welcomes not only hospitality, not only kindness, not only hope, but a purpose, a definite, clearly defined purpose; that men, understanding one another, must now support one another and that all the

sons of freedom are under a common oath to see that freedom never suffers this danger again. That, to my mind, is the impressive element of this welcome. I know how much of it, sir, and I know how little of it to appropriate to myself.

I know that I have the very distinguished honor to represent a nation whose heart is in this business, and I am proud to speak for the people whom I represent. But I know that you honor me in a representative capacity. I delight in this welcome, therefore, as if I had brought the people of the United States with me and they could see in your faces what I see in the tokens of welcome and affection.

#### HAS WORLD'S BROTHERHOOD

The sum of the whole matter is that France has earned and has won the brotherhood of the world. She has stood at the chief post of danger, and the thoughts of mankind and her brothers everywhere, her brothers in freedom, turn to her and center upon her. If this is true, as I believe it to be, France is fortunate to have suffered. She is fortunate to have proved her mettle as one of the champions of liberty, and she has tied to herself, once and for all, all those who love freedom and truly believe in the progress and rights of man.

## XXVI

### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(PARIS, January 25, 1919)

*The second session of the full Peace Conference was addressed by President Wilson on the subject of a league of nations. His address, in full, follows:*

MR. CHAIRMAN: I consider it a distinguished privilege to be permitted to open the discussion in this Conference on the League of Nations. We have assembled for two purposes—to make the present settlements which have been rendered necessary by this war, and also to secure the peace of the world not only by the present settlements, but by the arrangements we shall make at this Conference for its maintenance.

The League of Nations seems to me to be necessary for both of these purposes. There are many complicated questions connected with the present settlements, which perhaps cannot be successfully worked out to an ultimate issue by the decisions we shall arrive

at here. I can easily conceive that many of these settlements will need subsequent consideration; that many of the decisions we make shall need subsequent alteration in some degree, for if I may judge by my own study of some of these questions they are not susceptible of confident judgments at present.

#### MUST SET UP PEACE MACHINE

It is, therefore, necessary that we should set up some machinery by which the work of this Conference should be rendered complete.

We have assembled here for the purpose of doing very much more than making the present settlements that are necessary. We are assembled under very peculiar conditions of world opinion. I may say, without straining the point, that we are not the representatives of governments, but representatives of the peoples.

It will not suffice to satisfy governmental circles anywhere. It is necessary that we should satisfy the opinion of mankind.

The burdens of this war have fallen in an unusual degree upon the whole population of the countries involved. I do not need to draw for you the picture of how the burden has been thrown back from the front upon the older men, upon the women, upon the children, upon the homes of the civilized world,

and how the real strain of the war has come where the eyes of the government could not reach, but where the heart of humanity beats.

#### DEMAND SECURE PEACE

We are bidden by these people to make a peace which will make them secure. We are bidden by these people to see to it that this strain does not come upon them again. And I venture to say that it has been possible for them to bear this strain because they hoped that those who represented them could get together after this war and make such another sacrifice unnecessary.

It is a solemn obligation on our part, therefore, to make permanent arrangements that justice shall be rendered and peace maintained.

This is the central object of our meeting. Settlements may be temporary, but the action of the nations in the interest of peace and justice must be permanent. We can set up permanent processes. We may not be able to set up a permanent decision.

#### MUST MENTALLY PICTURE WORLD

Therefore, it seems to me that we must take, as far as we can, a picture of the world into our minds. Is it not a startling circumstance, for one thing, that the great discoveries of

science, that the quiet studies of men in laboratories, that the thoughtful developments which have taken place in quiet lecture-rooms have now been turned to the destruction of civilization? The powers of destruction have not so much multiplied as they have gained facilities.

The enemy, whom we have just overcome, had at his seats of learning some of the principal centers of scientific study and discovery, and he used them in order to make destruction sudden and complete. And only the watchful and continuous co-operation of men can see to it that science, as well as armed men, is kept within the harness of civilization.

In a sense, the United States is less interested in this subject than the other nations here assembled. With her great territory and her extensive sea borders, it is less likely that the United States should suffer from the attack of enemies than that other nations should suffer. And the ardor of the United States—for it is a very deep and genuine ardor—for the society of nations is not an ardor springing out of fear or apprehension, but an ardor springing out of the ideals which have come in the consciousness of this war.

#### UNITED STATES IS NOT MEDDLING

In coming into this war the United States never for a moment thought that she was intervening in the politics of Europe, or the

politics of Asia, or the politics of any part of the world. Her thought was that all the world had now become conscious that there was a single cause of justice and of liberty for men of every kind and place.

Therefore the United States should feel that its part in this war should be played in vain if there ensued upon it abortive European settlements. It would feel that it could not take part in guaranteeing those European settlements unless that guarantee involved the continuous superintendence of the peace of the world by the associated nations of the world.

Therefore it seems to me that we must conserve our best judgment in order to make this League of Nations a vital thing—a thing sometimes called into life to meet an emergency—but always functioning in watchful attendance upon the interests of the nations, and that its continuity should be a vital continuity; that its functions are continuing functions, that do not permit an intermission of its watchfulness and of its labor; that it should be the eye of the nations, to keep watch upon the common interest—an eye that did not slumber, an eye that was everywhere watchful and attentive.

#### ALL WORLD WANTS LEAGUE

And if we do not make it vital, what shall we do? We shall disappoint the expectations,



of the peoples. This is what their thought centers upon.

I had the very delightful experience of visiting several nations since I came to this side of the water, and every time the voice of the body of the people reached me, through any representative, at the front of the plea stood the hope of the League of Nations.

Gentlemen, the select classes of mankind are no longer the governors of mankind. The fortunes of mankind are now in the hands of the plain people of the whole world. Satisfy them and you have justified their confidence not only, but have established peace. Fail to satisfy them, and no arrangement that you can make will either set up or steady the peace of the world.

#### FAILURE MEANS SCORN

You can imagine, I dare say, the sentiments and the purpose with which the representatives of the United States support this great project for a League of Nations. We regard it as the key-note of the whole, which expressed our purposes and ideals in this war and which the associated nations have accepted as the basis of a settlement.

If we return to the United States without having made every effort in our power to realize this program, we should return to meet



the merited scorn of our fellow citizens. For they are a body that constitute a great democracy. They expect their leaders to speak, their representatives to be their servants.

We have no choice but to obey their mandate. But it is with the greatest enthusiasm and pleasure that we accept that mandate. And because this is the key-note of the whole fabric, we have pledged our every purpose to it, as we have to every item of the fabric.

We would not dare abate a single item of the program which constitutes our instructions. We would not dare to compromise upon any matter as the champion of this thing—this peace of the world, this attitude of justice, this principle that we are the masters of no peoples, but are here to see that every people in the world shall choose its own masters and govern its own destinies, not as we wish, but as they wish.

#### WORLD MUST BE EMANCIPATED

We are here to see, in short, that the very foundations of the war are swept away. Those foundations were the private choice of a small coterie of civil rulers and military staffs. Those foundations were the aggressions of great powers upon the small. Those foundations were the holding together of empires of unwilling subjects by the duress of arms.

Those foundations were the power of small bodies of men to wield their will and use mankind as pawns in a game.

And nothing less than the emancipation of the world from these things will accomplish peace.

## XXVII

### A PEOPLE'S PEACE

(PARIS, January 25, 1919)

*The text of President Wilson's address to a delegation representing the working-women of France who called on him to urge that the Peace Conference include woman suffrage among the points to be settled, follows:*

MLLE. THOMSON AND LADIES: You have not only done me a great honor, but you have touched me very much by this unexpected tribute; and may I add that you have frightened me, because, realizing the great confidence you place in me, I am led to the question of my own ability to justify that confidence?

You have not placed your confidence wrongly in my hopes and purposes, but perhaps not all of those hopes and purposes can be realized in the great matter that you have so much at heart—the right of women to take their full share in the political life of the nations to which they belong. That is necessarily a domestic question for the several nations. A

conference of peace settling the relations of nations with each other would be regarded as going very much outside its province if it undertook to dictate to the several States what their internal policy should be.

#### HOPES SUBJECT WILL COME UP

At the same time, these considerations apply also to the conditions of labor. It does not seem to be unlikely that the Conference will take some action by way of expressing its sentiments, at any rate, with regard to the international aspects, at least, of labor, and I should hope that some occasion might be offered for the case not only of the women of France, but of their sisters all over the world, to be presented to the consideration of the Conference.

The Conference is turning out to be a rather unwieldy body, a very large body representing a great many nations, large and small, old and new, and the method of organizing its work successfully, I am afraid, will have to be worked out stage by stage. Therefore I have no confident prediction to make as to the way in which it can take up questions of this sort.

But what I have most at heart to-day is to avail myself of this opportunity to express my admiration for the women of France and

my admiration for the women of all the nations that have been engaged in the war. By the fortunes of this war the chief burden has fallen upon the women of France, and they have borne it with a spirit and a devotion which have commanded the admiration of the world.

#### CLOSE TO FRANCE IN THOUGHT

I do not think that the people of France fully realize, perhaps, the intensity of the sympathy that other nations have felt for them. They think of us in America, for example, as a long way off. And we are in space, but we are not in thought. You must remember that the United States is made up of the nations of Europe; that French sympathies run straight across the seas, not merely by historic association, but by blood connection, and that these nerves of sympathy are quick to transmit the impulses of the one nation to the other.

We have followed your sufferings with a feeling that we were witnessing one of the most heroic, and may I add, at the same time, satisfactory things in the world—satisfactory because they showed the strength of the human spirit, the indomitable power of women and men alike to sustain any burden if the cause was great enough.

In an ordinary war there might have been some shrinking, some sinking of effort; but this was not an ordinary war. This was a war not only to redeem France from an enemy, but to redeem the world from an enemy. And France, therefore, and the women of France, strained their hearts to sustain the world. I hope that the strain has not been in vain. I know that it has not been in vain.

#### MUST BE PEOPLE'S PEACE

This war has been popular, and unlike other wars in that it seemed sometimes as if the chief strain was behind the lines and not at the lines. It took so many men to conduct the war that the older men and the women at home had to carry the nation. Not only so, but the industries of the nation were almost as much a part of the fighting as the things that took place at the fronts.

So it is for that reason that I have said to those with whom I am at present associated that this must be a people's peace, because this was a people's war. The people won this war, not the governments; and the people must reap the benefits of the war. At every turn we must see to it that it is not an adjustment between governments merely, but an arrangement for the peace and security of men and women everywhere.

The little obscure sufferings and the daily unknown privations, the unspoken sufferings of the heart, are the tragical things of this war. They have been borne at home, and the center of the home is the woman. My heart goes out to you, therefore, ladies, in a very unusual degree, and I welcome this opportunity to bring you this message, not from myself merely, but from the great people whom I represent.

## XXVIII

### THE MENACE IN THE EAST

(PARIS, February 3, 1919)

*President Wilson delivered an address in the Chamber of Deputies, his audience including President Poincaré, the Cabinet officers, and many members of the French legislative bodies. The President spoke as follows:*

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: I am keenly aware of the unusual and distinguished honor you are paying me by permitting me to meet you in this place and to address you from this historic platform.

Indeed, sir, as day has followed day, and week has followed week, in this hospitable land of France, I have felt the sense of comradeship ever becoming more and more intimate, and it has seemed to me that the making of history was becoming singularly clear.

We knew before this war began that France and America were united in affection. We knew the occasions which drew the two nations together in those years, which now seem so far away, when the world was first begin-



ning to thrill with the impulse of human liberty, when the soldiers of France came to help the struggling little republic of America to get on its feet and proclaim one of the first victories of freedom.

We had never forgotten that, but we did not see the full meaning of it. A hundred years and more went by, and the spindles were slowly weaving the web of history. We did not see it to be complete, the whole of the design to be made plain.

#### DIVERGING LINES DRAWN TOGETHER

Now look what has happened. In that far-off day when France came to the assistance of America, America was fighting Great Britain, and now she is linked as closely to Great Britain as she is to France. We see now how those apparently diverging lines of history are coming together. The nations which once stood in battle array against one another are now shoulder to shoulder, fighting a common enemy.

It was a long time before we saw that, and in the last four years something has happened that is unprecedented in the history of mankind. It is nothing less than this—that bodies of men on both sides of the sea and in all parts of the world have come to realize their comradeship in freedom.

France, in the mean time, as we have so often said, stood at the frontier of freedom.

Her lines lay along the very lines that divided the home of freedom from the home of military despotism. Hers was the immediate peril. Hers was the constant dread. Hers was the most pressing necessity of preparation, and she had constantly to ask herself this question: "If the blow falls, who will come to our assistance?"

And the question was answered in the most unexpected way. Her allies came to her assistance, but many more than her allies. The free peoples of the world came to her assistance.

And in this way America paid her debt of gratitude to France by sending her sons to fight upon the soil of France. She did more. She assisted in drawing the forces of the world together in order that France might never again feel her isolation; in order that France might never feel that hers was a lonely peril, and would never again have to ask the question, who would come to her assistance?

For the alternative is a terrible alternative for France. I do not need to point out to you that east of you in Europe the future is full of question. Beyond the Rhine, across Germany, across Poland, across Russia, across Asia there are questions unanswered, and they may be for the present unanswerable.

France still stands at the frontier. France

still stands in the presence of those threatening and unanswered questions—threatening because unanswered—stands waiting for the solution of matters which touch her directly and intimately and constantly, and if she must stand alone, what must she do? She must put upon her people a constant burden of taxation. She must undergo sacrifice that may become intolerable.

#### ALL NATIONS INVOLVED

And not only she, but the other nations of the world must do the like. They must be ready for any terrible incident of injustice. The thing is not inconceivable.

I visited the other day a portion of the devastated region of France. I saw the noble city of Rheims in ruins, and I could not help saying to myself: "Here is where the blow fell because the rulers of the world did not sooner see how to prevent it."

The rulers of the world have been thinking of the relations of governments and forgetting the relations of peoples. They have been thinking of the maneuvers of international dealings, when what they ought to have been thinking of was the fortunes of men and women and the safety of home, and the care that they should take that their people should be happy because they were safe.

They know that the only way to do this is to make it certain that the same thing will not always happen that has happened this time, that there never shall be any doubt or waiting or surmise, but that whenever France or any other free people is threatened the whole world will be ready to vindicate its liberty.

It is for that reason, I take it, that I find such an intelligent enthusiasm in France for the society of nations—France with her keen vision, France with her prophetic vision.

#### SACRIFICES SEEN AS NECESSARY

It seems to be not only the need of France, but the need of mankind. And France sees the sacrifices which are necessary for the establishment of the society of nations are not to be compared with the constant dread of another catastrophe falling on the fair cities and areas of France.

There was a no more beautiful country. There was a no more prosperous country. There was a no more free-spirited people. All of the world had admired France, and none of the world grudged France her greatness and her prosperity. And it has profited us, terrible as the past has been, to witness what has happened, to see with the physical eye what has happened, because injustice was wrought.

The President of the Chamber has pictured, as I cannot picture, the appalling sufferings, the terrible tragedy of France, but it is a tragedy which could not be repeated. As the pattern of history has disclosed itself, it has disclosed the hearts of men drawing toward one another. Comradeships have become vivid. The purpose of association has become evident.

The nations of the world are about to consummate a brotherhood which will make it unnecessary in the future to maintain those crushing armaments which make the peoples suffer almost as much in peace as they suffered in war.

## XXIX

### PRINCIPLES VERSUS PRACTICE

(PARIS, *February 13, 1919*)

*President Wilson, in addressing a delegation from the French Association for a Society of Nations, said:*

GENTLEMEN: I appreciate very deeply what has been said, and I take it that the kind suggestion is that some time after my return we should arrange a public meeting, at which, I am quite confident, we may celebrate the completion of the work, at any rate, up to a certain very far advanced stage, the consummation for which we have been working and hoping for a long time.

It would be a very happy thing if that could be arranged. I can only say for myself that I sincerely hope it can be. I should wish to lend any assistance possible to so happy a consummation.

### MANY MIRACLES WROUGHT

I cannot help thinking of how many miracles this war has already wrought, miracles of

comprehension as to our interdependence as nations and as human beings, miracles to the removal of obstacles which seemed big and now have grown small, in the way of active and organized co-operation of nations in regard to the establishment and maintenance of justice.

And the thoughts of the people having been drawn together, there has already been created a force which is not only very great, but very formidable, a force which can be rapidly mobilized, a force which is very effective when mobilized, namely, the moral force of the world.

One advantage in seeing one another and talking with one another is to find that, after all, we all think the same way.

We may try to put the result of the thing into different forms, but we start with the same principles.

#### PRINCIPLES ARE ABSTRACT

I have often been thought of as a man more interested in principles than in practice, whereas, as a matter of fact, I can say that, in one sense, principles have never interested me, because principles prove themselves when stated. They do not need any debate. The thing that is difficult and interesting is how to put them into practice. Large discourse

is not possible on the principles, but large discourse is necessary on the matter of realizing them.

So that, after all, principles until translated into practice are very thin and abstract and, I may add, uninteresting things. It is not interesting to have far-away visions, but it is interesting to have near-by visions of what it is possible to accomplish. And in a meeting such as you are projecting perhaps we can record the success that we shall have then achieved of putting a great principle into practice, and demonstrated that it can be put into practice, though only, let us say, five years ago it was considered an impractical dream.

I will co-operate with great happiness in the plan that you may form after my return, and I thank you very warmly for the compliment of this personal visit.



## XXX

### THE WORLD LEAGUE PLAN

(PARIS, February 14, 1919)

*President Wilson's speech at the Peace Conference at the reading of the draft of the Constitution of the League of Nations follows:*

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have the honor, and assume it a very great privilege, of reporting in the name of the commission constituted by this Conference on the formulation of a plan for the League of Nations. I am happy to say that it is a unanimous report, a unanimous report from the representatives of fourteen nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, China, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, and Serbia.

I think it will be serviceable and interesting if I, with your permission, read the document, as the only report we have to make.

*[President Wilson then read the draft. When he reached Article XV and had read through*

*the second paragraph, the President paused and said: ]*

I pause to point out that a misconception might arise in connection with one of the sentences I have just read—"If any party shall refuse to comply, the Council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendations."

A case in point, a purely hypothetical case, is this: Suppose there is in the possession of a particular Power a piece of territory, or some other substantial thing in dispute, to which it is claimed that it is not entitled. Suppose that the matter is submitted to the Executive Council for recommendation as to the settlement of the dispute, diplomacy having failed, and suppose that the decision is in favor of the party which claims the subject-matter of dispute, as against the party which has the subject-matter in dispute.

Then, if the party in possession of the subject-matter in dispute merely sits still and does nothing, it has accepted the decision of the Council in the sense that it makes no resistance, but something must be done to see that it surrenders the subject-matter in dispute.

In such a case, the only case contemplated, it is provided that the Executive Council may then consider what steps may be necessary to oblige the party against whom judgment has

been given to comply with the decisions of the Council.

#### CITES A CASE FOR USE OF FORCE

*[After having read Article XIX, President Wilson also stopped and said:]*

Let me say that before being embodied in this document this was the subject-matter of a very careful discussion by representatives of the five greater parties, and that their unanimous conclusion is the matter embodied in this article.

*[After having read the entire document, President Wilson continued as follows:]*

It gives me pleasure to add to this formal reading of the result of our labors that the character of the discussion which occurred at the sittings of the commission was not only of the most constructive, but of the most encouraging sort. It was obvious throughout our discussions that, although there were subjects upon which there were individual differences of judgment with regard to the method by which our objects should be obtained, there was practically at no point any serious differences of opinion or motive as to the objects which we were seeking.

Indeed, while these debates were not made the opportunity for the expression of enthusiasm and sentiment, I think the other members of the commission will agree with me that there was an undertone of high respect and of enthusiasm for the thing we are trying to do, which was heartening throughout every meeting, because we felt that in a way this Conference did intrust unto us the expression of one of its highest and most important purposes, to see to it that the concord of the world in the future with regard to the objects of justice should not be subject to doubt or uncertainty, that the co-operation of the great body of nations should be assured in the maintenance of peace upon terms of honor and of international obligations.

The compulsion of that task was constantly upon us, and at no point was there shown the slightest desire to do anything but suggest the best means to accomplish that great object. There is very great significance, therefore, in the fact that the result was reached unanimously.

#### UNION OF WILLS THAT CANNOT BE RESISTED

Fourteen nations were represented, among them all of those Powers which for convenience we have called the Great Powers, and among the rest a representation of the greatest variety

of circumstances and interests. So that I think we are justified in saying that the significance of the result, therefore, had the deepest of all meanings, the union of wills in a common purpose, a union of wills which cannot be resisted, and which, I dare say, no nation will run the risk of attempting to resist.

Now as to the character of the document. While it has consumed some time to read this document, I think you will see at once that it is very simple, and in nothing so simple as in the structure which it suggests for a League of Nations—a body of delegates, an Executive Council, and a permanent secretariat.

When it came to the question of determining the character of the representation in the body of delegates, we were all aware of a feeling which is current throughout the world. Inasmuch as I am stating it in the presence of the official representatives of the various governments here present, including myself, I may say that there is a universal feeling that the world cannot rest satisfied with merely official guidance. There has reached us through many channels the feeling that if the deliberating body of the League of Nations was merely to be a body of officials representing the various governments, the peoples of the world would not be sure that some of the mistakes which preoccupied officials had admittedly made might not be repeated.

It was impossible to conceive a method or an assembly so large and various as to be really representative of the great body of the peoples of the world, because, as I roughly reckon it, we represent, as we sit around this table, more than twelve hundred million people. You cannot have a representative assembly of twelve hundred million people, but if you leave it to each government to have, if it pleases, one or two or three representatives, though only with a single vote, it may vary its representation from time to time, not only, but it may govern the choice of its several representatives.

Therefore, we thought that this was a proper and a very prudent concession to the practically universal opinion of plain men everywhere that they wanted the door left open to a variety of representation, instead of being confined to a single official body with which they could or might not find themselves in sympathy.

#### PROVISION FOR DISCUSSION

And you will notice that this body has unlimited rights of discussion—I mean of discussion of anything that falls within the field of international relations—and that it is especially agreed that war or international misunderstandings, or anything that may lead to friction or trouble, is everybody's business, because it may affect the peace of the world.

And in order to safeguard the popular power so far as we could of this representative body, it is provided, you will notice, that when a subject is submitted, it is not to arbitration, but to discussion by the Executive Council. It can, upon the initiative of either of the parties to the dispute, be drawn out of the Executive Council on the larger form of the general body of delegates, because through this instrument we are depending primarily and chiefly upon one great force, and this is the moral force of the public opinion of the world—the pleasing and clarifying and compelling influences of publicity, so that intrigues can no longer have their coverts, so that designs that are sinister can at any time be drawn into the open, so that those things that are destroyed by the light may be promptly destroyed by the overwhelming light of the universal expression of the condemnation of the world.

Armed force is in the background in this program, but it is in the background, and if the moral force of the world will not suffice, the physical force of the world shall. But that is the last resort, because this is intended as a constitution of peace, not as a league of war.

The simplicity of the document seems to me to be one of its chief virtues, because, speaking for myself, I was unable to see the variety of circumstances with which this



League would have to deal. I was unable, therefore, to plan all the machinery that might be necessary to meet the differing and unexpected contingencies. Therefore, I should say of this document that it is not a straitjacket, but a vehicle of life.

#### A LIVING THING IS BORN

A living thing is born, and we must see to it what clothes we put on it. It is not a vehicle of power, but a vehicle in which power may be varied at the discretion of those who exercise it and in accordance with the changing circumstances of the time. And yet, while it is elastic, while it is general in its terms, it is definite in the one thing that we are called upon to make definite. It is a definite guarantee of peace. It is a definite guarantee by word against aggression. It is a definite guarantee against the things which have just come near bringing the whole structure of civilization into ruin.

Its purposes do not for a moment lie vague. Its purposes are declared, and its powers are unmistakable. It is not in contemplation that this should be merely a League to secure the peace of the world. It is a League which can be used for co-operation in any international matter. That is the significance of the provision introduced concerning labor. There are many ameliorations of labor conditions



which can be effected by conference and discussion. I anticipate that there will be a very great usefulness in the Bureau of Labor which it is contemplated shall be set up by the League. Men and women and children who work have been in the background through long ages, and sometimes seemed to be forgotten, while governments have had their watchful and suspicious eyes upon the maneuvers of one another, while the thought of statesmen has been about structural action and the larger transactions of commerce and finance.

Now, if I may believe the picture which I see, there comes into the foreground the great body of the laboring people of the world, the men and women and children upon whom the great burden of sustaining the world must from day to day fall, whether we wish it to do so or not, people who go to bed tired and wake up without the stimulation of lively hope. These people will be drawn into the field of international consultation and help, and will be among the wards of the combined governments of the world. This is, I take leave to say, a very great step in advance.

Then, as you will notice, there is an imperative article concerning the publicity of all international agreements. Henceforth no member of the League can claim any agreement

valid which it has not registered with the Secretary-General, in whose office, of course, it will be subject to the examination of anybody representing a member of the League. And the duty is laid upon the Secretary-General to publish every document of that sort at the earliest possible time.

I suppose most persons who have not been conversant with the business of foreign affairs do not realize how many hundreds of these agreements are made in a single year, and how difficult it might be to publish the more unimportant of them immediately, how uninteresting it would be to most of the world to publish them immediately, but even they must be published just as soon as it is possible for the Secretary-General to publish them.

#### PROTECTION OF THE HELPLESS

Then there is a feature about this covenant which, to my mind, is one of the greatest and most satisfactory advances that have been made. We are done with annexations of helpless peoples, meant in some instances by some Powers to be used merely for exploitation. We recognized in the most solemn manner that the helpless and undeveloped peoples of the world, being in that condition, put an obligation upon us to look after their interests primarily before we use them for our interests;

and that in all cases of this sort hereafter it shall be the duty of the League to see that the nations who are assigned as the tutors and advisers and directors of these peoples shall look to their interests and their development before they look to the interests and desires of the mandatory nation itself.

There has been no greater advance than this, gentlemen. If you look back upon the history of the world you will see how helpless peoples have too often been a prey to Powers that had no conscience in the matter. It has been one of the many distressing revelations of recent years that the Great Power which has just been, happily, defeated put intolerable burdens and injustices upon the helpless people of some of the colonies which it annexed to itself, that its interest was rather their extermination than their development, that the desire was to possess their land for European purposes and not to enjoy their confidence in order that mankind might be lifted in these places to the next higher level.

Now, the world, expressing its conscience in law, says there is an end of that, that our consciences shall be settled to this thing. States will be picked out which have already shown that they can exercise a conscience in this matter, and under their tutelage the helpless peoples of the world will come into a new light and into a new hope.

## A PRACTICAL DOCUMENT

So I think I can say of this document that it is at one and the same time a practical document and a human document. There is a pulse of sympathy in it. There is a compulsion of conscience throughout it. It is practical, and yet it is intended to purify, to rectify, to elevate. And I want to say that, so far as my observation instructs me, this is in one sense a belated document. I believe that the conscience of the world has long been prepared to express itself in some such way. We are not just now discovering our sympathy for these people and our interest in them. We are simply expressing it, for it has long been felt, and in the administration of the affairs of more than one of the great States represented here—so far as I know, all of the great States that are represented here—that humane impulse has already expressed itself in their dealings with their colonies, whose peoples were yet at a low stage of civilization.

We have had many instances of colonies lifted into the sphere of complete self-government. This is not the discovery of a principle. It is the universal application of a principle. It is the agreement of the great nations which have tried to live by these standards in their separate administrations to unite in seeing that their common force and their common

thought and intelligence are lent to this great and humane enterprise. I think it is an occasion, therefore, for the most profound satisfaction that this humane decision should have been reached in a matter for which the world has long been waiting, and until a very recent period thought that it was still too early to hope.

Many terrible things have come out of this war, gentlemen, but some very beautiful things have come out of it. Wrong has been defeated, but the rest of the world has been more conscious than it ever was before of the majority of right. People that were suspicious of one another can now live as friends and comrades in a single family, and desire to do so. The miasma of distrust, of intrigue, is cleared away. Men are looking eye to eye and saying: "We are brothers and have a common purpose. We did not realize it before, but now we do realize it, and this is our covenant of friendship."

## XXXI

### FAREWELL

(BREST, *February 15, 1919*)

*The President made the following statement just before embarking for the United States:*

My FRIENDS: I cannot leave France without expressing my profound sense of the generous hospitality of the French people and the French government. They have received and treated me as I most desired to be treated—as a friend; a friend alike in spirit and in purpose.

I am happy to think that I am to return to assist with all my heart in completing the just settlements which the Conference is seeking, and I shall carry with me during my absence very happy memories of the two months I have spent here. I have been privileged to see near at hand what my sympathy had already conceived of the sufferings and problems of France, and every day has deepened my interest in the solution of the grave ques-

tions upon whose proper solution the future prosperity of France and of her associates and of the whole world depend. May I not leave my warm and affectionate farewell greetings.





## APPENDIX



## APPENDIX

### FIRST DRAFT OF THE LEAGUE CONSTITUTION

#### COVENANT PREAMBLE

In order to promote international co-operation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rôle of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the Powers signatory to this covenant adopt this Constitution of the League of Nations:

#### ARTICLE I

The action of the high contracting parties under the terms of this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of meeting of a body of delegates representing the high contracting parties, of meetings at more frequent intervals of an executive council, and of a permanent international

secretariat to be established at the seat of the league.

#### ARTICLE 2

Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require for the purpose of dealing with matters within the sphere of action of the league. Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at the seat of the league or at such other place as may be found convenient and shall consist of representatives of the high contracting parties. Each of the high contracting parties shall have one vote, but may not have more than three representatives.

#### ARTICLE 3

The Executive Council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, together with representatives of four other States, members of the league. The selection of these four States shall be made by the body of delegates on such principles and in such manner as they think fit. Pending the appointment of these representatives of the other States representatives of . . . shall be members of the Executive Council.

Meetings of the Council shall be held from time to time as occasion may require and at least once a year at whatever place may be decided on, or, failing any such decision, at the seat of the league, and any matter within the sphere of action of the league or affecting the peace of the world may be dealt with at such meetings.

Invitations shall be sent to any Power to attend a meeting of the council at which matters directly affecting its interests are to be discussed, and no decision taken at any meeting will be binding on such Power unless so invited.

## ARTICLE 4

All matters of procedure at meetings of the body of delegates or the Executive Council, including the appointing of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the body of delegates or the Executive Council and may be decided by a majority of the States represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the body of delegates and of the Executive Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

## ARTICLE 5

The permanent secretariat of the league shall be established at . . . , which shall constitute the seat of the league. The secretariat shall comprise such secretaries and staff as may be required under the general direction and control of a Secretary-General of the league, who shall be chosen by the Executive Council; the secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary-General, subject to confirmation by the Executive Council.

The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council.

The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by

the States members of the league in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the international bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

#### ARTICLE 6

Representatives of the high contracting parties and officials of the league when engaged on the business of the league shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities, and the buildings occupied by the league or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall enjoy the benefits of extra-territoriality.

#### ARTICLE 7

Admission to the League of States not signatories to the covenant and not named in the protocol hereto as States to be invited to adhere to the covenant requires the assent of not less than two-thirds of the States represented in the body of delegates, and shall be limited to fully self-governing countries, including dominions and colonies.

No State shall be admitted to the league unless it is able to give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations and unless it shall conform to such principles as may be prescribed by the league in regard to its naval and military forces and armaments.

#### ARTICLE 8

The high contracting parties recognize the principle that the maintenance of peace will require the reduction of national armaments to the lowest

point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations, having special regard to the geographical situation and circumstances of each State; and the Executive Council shall formulate plans for effecting such reduction. The Executive Council shall also determine for the consideration and action of the several governments what military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of forces laid down in the program of disarmament; and these limits, when adopted, shall not be exceeded without the permission of the Executive Council.

The high contracting parties agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections, and direct the Executive Council to advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being made to the necessities of those countries which are not able to manufacture for themselves the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The high contracting parties undertake in no way to conceal from each other the condition of such of their industries as are capable of being adapted to warlike purposes or the scale of their armaments, and agree that there shall be full and frank interchange of information as to their military and naval programs.

#### ARTICLE 9

A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the league on the execution of the pro-

visions of Article 8 and on military and naval questions generally.

#### ARTICLE 10

The high contracting parties undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all States members of the league. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Executive Council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled.

#### ARTICLE 11

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the high contracting parties or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the league, and the high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.

It is hereby also declared and agreed to be the friendly right of each of the high contracting parties to draw the attention of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council to any circumstances affecting international intercourse which threaten to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

#### ARTICLE 12

The high contracting parties agree that should a dispute arise between them which cannot be



adjusted by the ordinary processes of diplomacy, they will in no case resort to war without previously submitting the questions and matters involved either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Executive Council and until three months after the award by the arbitrators or a recommendation by the Executive Council, and that they will not even then resort to war as against a member of the league which complies with the award of the arbitrators or the recommendation of the Executive Council.

In any case, under this article, the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the recommendation of the Executive Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

#### ARTICLE 13

The high contracting parties agree that, whenever any dispute or difficulty shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole matter to arbitration. For this purpose the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The high contracting parties agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered. In the event of any failure to carry out the award, the Executive Council shall propose what steps can best be given to give effect thereto.

## ARTICLE 14

The Executive Council shall formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice, and this court shall, when established, be competent to hear and determine any matter which the parties recognize as suitable for submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing article.

## ARTICLE 15

If there should arise between States members of the league any dispute likely to lead to rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the high contracting parties agree that they will refer the matter to the Executive Council; either party to the dispute may give notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties agree to communicate to the Secretary-General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Executive Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

Where the efforts of the Council lead to the settlement of the dispute a statement shall be published indicating the nature of the dispute and the terms of settlement, together with such explanations as may be appropriate. If the dispute has not been settled a report by the Council shall be published, setting forth with all necessary facts and explanations the recommendation which the Council thinks just and proper for the settlement

of the dispute. If the report is unanimously agreed to by the members of the Council other than the parties to the dispute, the high contracting parties agree that they will not go to war with any party which complies with the recommendations and that, if any party shall refuse so to comply, the Council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendation. If no such unanimous report can be made, it shall be the duty of the majority and the privilege of the minority to issue statements indicating what they believe to be the facts and containing the reasons which they consider to be just and proper.

The Executive Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the body of delegates. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request must be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute. In any case referred to the body of delegates all the provisions of this article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Executive Council shall apply to the action and powers of the body of delegates.

#### ARTICLE 16

Should any of the high contracting parties break or disregard its covenants under Article 12, it shall thereby *de facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the league, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals

of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nations of the covenant-breaking State and the nations of any other State, whether a member of the league or not.

It shall be the duty of the Executive Council in such case to recommend what effective military or naval force the members of the league shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the league.

The high contracting parties agree further that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which may be taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will afford passage through their territory to the forces of the high contracting parties who are co-operating to protect the covenants of the league.

#### ARTICLE 17

In the event of disputes between one State, member of the league, and another State, which is not a member of the league, or between States not members of the league, the high contracting parties agree that the State or States not members of the league shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Executive Council may deem just, and upon acceptance of any such invitation the above pro-

visions shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the league.

Upon such invitation being given the Executive Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances and merits of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

In the event of a Power so invited refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of such dispute, and taking any action against a State member of the league which in the case of a State member of the league would constitute a breach of Article 12, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purpose of such dispute, the Executive Council may take such action and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

#### ARTICLE 18

The high contracting parties agree that the league shall be intrusted with general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interests.

#### ARTICLE 19

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be

under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the constitution of the league.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the league.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions, and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory Power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory Power.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be

responsible for the administration of the territory subject to conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the league.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific Isles, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical continuity to the mandatory State, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory State as integral portions thereof, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interest of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate the mandatory State shall render to the league an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the mandatory State shall, if not previously agreed upon by the high contracting parties, in each case be explicitly defined by the Executive Council in a special act or charter.

The high contracting parties further agree to establish at the seat of the league a mandatory commission to receive and examine the annual



report of the mandatory Powers, and to assist the league in insuring the observance of the terms of all mandates.

#### ARTICLE 20

The high contracting parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend; and to that end agree to establish as part of the organization of the league a permanent bureau of labor.

#### ARTICLE 21

The high contracting parties agree that provision shall be made through the instrumentality of the league to secure and maintain freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all States members of the league, having in mind, among other things, special arrangements with regard to the necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-18.

#### ARTICLE 22

The high contracting parties agree to place under the control of the league all international bureaus already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. Furthermore, they agree that all such international bureaus to be constituted in future shall be placed under the control of the league.



## ARTICLE 23

The high contracting parties agree that every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any State member of the league shall be forthwith registered with the Secretary-General and as soon as possible published by him, and that no such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

## ARTICLE 24

It shall be the right of the body of delegates from time to time to advise the reconsideration by States members of the league of treaties which have become inapplicable, and of international conditions of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world.

## ARTICLE 25

The high contracting parties severally agree that the present covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly engage that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof. In case the Powers signatory hereto or subsequently admitted to the league shall, before becoming a party to this covenant, have undertaken any obligations which are inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such Power to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

## ARTICLE 26

Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Executive Council, and by three-fourths of the States whose representatives compose the body of delegates.

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